Regional development, industry and workforce: the case of Guadalajara and its region, Mexico

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REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT, INDUSTRY AND WORKFORCE: THE CASE OF GUADALAJARA AND ITS REGION, MEXICO

- by -

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ABSTRACT

This thesis analyses the processes of development of a Mexican region and how this has effected the lives of its inhabitants. The region chosen for study presented characteristics different from other regions of Mexico. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the South of Jalisco exhibited a more self-contained pattern of development and was less dominated by the international economy. Later, through increasing government and capitalist intervention, the region became more closely integrated with the wider structure, leading to the establishment of several important "enclave" industries. The processes of development are studied through two "enclave" industries located in the region and compared with the development of a "traditional" industry located in Guadalajara, the capital of the State of Jalisco.

The thesis is divided into two parts. Part I deals with the history of each one of the three factories, its organisation, characteristics, the history of the Union and its role, and the characteristics of the work force. The "enclave" industries reveal the penetration of external capital into the region and the economic disruption that this produced, leading to a high rate of out-migration. It also explores the process of social differentiation generated by the high salaries received by enclave workers in the area and its consequences in producing an heterogeneous working class. The two "enclave" industries are then compared with the textile mills of Guadalajara. These mills present a different kind of development and their work force has different characteristics, once more adding to the heterogeneity of the working class.

Part II of the thesis looks in detail into the lives of the workers of the three factories and points to the differences between them. Differences in achievement (economic, educational, and in their careers within the factory), in their ways of handling their network of social relations, and differences between men and women. The second part also deals with the genealogies of the workers presented as case studies. The genealogies comprise four generations and look at the changes in occupation, level of education, patterns of migration and characteristics of the migrants, and tries to link and explain the changes and differences in relation to the types of structural changes undergone by the region.

I stress, throughout the development of the thesis, the heterogeneity existing among the working class settled in the area. I argue that heterogeneity also results from the way in which the Central State attempts to control the population and, by so doing, to avoid the threat of being opposed by a strong working class.

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FOREWORD AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is rooted in a research project which started in 1976 in the South of Jalisco. The research team was directed by Dr. Guillermo de la Peña and financially sponsored by CIS-INAH (Centro de Investigaciones Superiores del Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, today, CIESAS, Centro de Investigaciones en Antropología Social) and the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana. The aim of the research was to carry out a regional study of the South of Jalisco region trying to discover its process of development through the study of several issues: politics, education, commerce, the role of élites, and industry. Each member of the group had a specific research topic and the work of each one of us was discussed in general meetings.

After three years of research in the South of Jalisco, the research project, still under Dr. de la Peña's direction, moved to Guadalajara, the main city of the State of Jalisco. This time economic support came from CIESAS, Universidad Metropolitana and El Colegio de Michoacán where Dr. de la Peña was the director of the department of anthropology. I worked for only eight months in Guadalajara, but the research project still continues.

From these investigations several B.A. and M.A. theses and working papers have already emerged.* Thus this thesis owes a lot of its ideas and theoretical approaches to my colleagues, and especially to Dr. de la Peña. Professor Bryan Roberts of Manchester University, who acted as an advisor to the project, shared his theoretical ideas with the group and these are reflected in the present piece of work. My personal interest was focused on industry.

* see list at the end of this Foreword.

In the South of Jalisco several big industries (sugar mill, paper mill, cement plant, mines) are located, and through the study of their history we hoped to look at some of the processes of development experienced by the area.

In the first phase of the research, I studied the paper mill "Atenquique" founded around the 1940's, and the cement works "La Tolteca" of more recent origin (1968). The work included the history of the factories, their impact on the area, their patterns of organisation, and their relations to the Unions and the workers. After this, I then moved on to the study of the workers themselves, their families, their economic strategies, and their life histories before and after entering industrial work. I interviewed 20 workers in each factory, trying to cover the same points in each case, in order to compare their different life experiences. In addition to these interviews, I collected genealogies extended to four generations (i.e. the interviewee's grandparents, his parents and uncles on both sides, the interviewee and his brothers and cousins on both sides, and ego's children and ego's brothers' children). The importance of covering four generations was due to our interest in wishing to document changes in the region and their repercussions on the families studied. Changes in the labour market, in the level of integration of the area, in its different forms of articulation with other areas and with the centre had repercussions on the social and economic strategies of the inhabitants of the area, such as migration, level of education and patterns of investment. This was an attempt to link the particular (the workers of those factories) with the general (the structural change of the region).

The first phase of the research brought out the increasing dependence of the South of Jalisco region on Guadalajara, the main city in the State of Jalisco, and on Mexico City. This increased dependency on Guadalajara necessitated the study of this city so as to achieve a better understanding of the processes of development taking place in the region.

In Guadalajara, I concentrated on the study of one of the oldest and largest scale industries established in the area: the textile mills. There I carried out the same kinds of research as in the other mills, the only difference being that the historical background was deeper than in the other cases, since the textile mills were established in the middle of the nineteenth century. The aim was to compare the three different types of industries, and the workers taking part in their processes of production.

As I have already said, my research was to be framed in terms of the framework of regional analysis carried out by Dr. de la Peña and other members of the team. Nevertheless, I am solely responsible for the interpretations, misinterpretations, or errors contained in the thesis.

Although CIS-INAH financed my research, the writing up of the thesis was made possible by a scholarship, granted by CONACYT (Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología), which enabled me to complete the Ph.D. degree at the University of Durham.

During the last years of research and writing up, I have incurred debts of gratitude towards many people both in Mexico and in England: friendship debts, intellectual debts, so many

that it is impossible to repay them all or to mention all the people to whom I am indebted. Thus, here I will only mention a few of them. I hope that the "unmentioned" ones will forgive me, knowing that I do not forget them and all that I owe them.

I am grateful to my colleagues in the first phase of the research: Pastora Rodríguez, Pamen Campero, Manuel de Alba, Veronica Veerkamp, Agustín Escobar, Mercedes G. de la Rocha, Patricia Safa, for their support and friendship. This phase of the research was also enriched by the findings of anthropology students of the Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana, who came during the summer to do field work training. There are too many to name them all, but to all of them my gratitude.

My colleagues during the research in Guadalajara were: Patricia Arias, Silvia Lailson, Ignacio Medina to whom I am particularly grateful for their friendship, support and hospitality. Patricia Safa was in charge of combing the historical archives. She very kindly permitted me to use her material relating to the textile mills and the French colony in Guadalajara.

Undoubtedly my greatest debt is to Guillermo de la Peña and to Norman Long and their families. Guillermo de la Peña offered me the great opportunity to take part in a long-term research project framed in a regional context. During the research we benefitted from his experience, knowledge and friendship. In fact his ideas are present throughout this thesis. Norman Long gave me the opportunity to spend three years in England analysing the material and writing up under his supervision.

Both their wives offered me friendship and help. Pastora and I worked together during the first year of the research involving the paper mill. She made the preliminary contacts with the management to obtain access to the mill. Together we carried out several interviews with the management, white-collar employees and Union leaders. She produced a "working paper" (in de la Peña et al, 1977) on the paper mill organisation which was very useful to me in the writing of the chapter related to it. Ann Long took on her shoulders the heavy task of correcting my English. She also gave me invaluable support through the difficult moments one always has when adapting to a new country. She introduced me to their friends who became my friends. She created a space where you always felt at home.

I am also grateful to the anthropology postgraduate students who kindly listened and commented upon the papers presented at the seminars. Among these postgraduate students, the "Latin American colony" deserve a special mention. Their friendship and support has been invaluable. Through them I came to know other realities which greatly enriched my life experience.

The final typing of this thesis was done by Mrs Ann Mitchell, to whom I am most grateful for her effort and care with the not always legible and straightforward manuscript.

A special mention is deserved for the workers of the three factories. Without their hospitality and patience to share with me their life and experiences this thesis would not have been possible. I am also grateful to the managements of the three factories for giving me access to the premises of the factories, for the information provided, and for their help in general.

Last, but not least, I want to thank my family. My father, sadly not among us any more, gave all he could. Without him and the immense support and confianza my mother, grandmother and brothers gave me, I would not have been able to achieve this work.

Theses, Articles and Papers produced by members of the team:

Arias, Patricia, 1980 a) "El Proceso de Industrialización en Guadalajara, Jalisco: Siglo XX", Relaciones, Vol.I, 3. Michoacán, México.

Arias, Patricia, 1980 b) "La Consolidación de una Gran Empresa en un Contexto Regional de Industrias Pequeñas: El Caso de Calzado Canada", Relaciones, Vol.I, 3. Michoacán, México.

de Alba, Manuel, 1978 Actividad Política en un Municipio del Sur de Jalisco. B.A. thesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, México.

de Alba, Manuel, 1980 Economic Centralization and Changes: Class Relationships at the Regional Level. M.A. thesis, University of Manchester.

de la Peña, Guillermo (see bibliography).

Escobar, Agustín and Mercedes, G. de la Rocha, 1977 "El Papel de la Sierra del Tigre en el Sur de Jalisco", in Comunidad, 62 (U.I.A.) México.

Escobar, Agustín and Mercedes, G. de la Rocha, 1979 Centralización e Intermediación: Agroindustrias del Sur de Jalisco. B.A. thesis, Universidad Iberoamericana.

Escobar, Agustín and Mercedes, G. de la Rocha, 1980 "Agricultura Capitalista y Procesos Migratorios: Un Caso en el Sur de Jalisco" in Relaciones, Vol.I, 2. Michoacán, México.

Lailson, Silvia, 1980 "Expansión Limitada y Proliferación Horizontal: La Industria de la Ropa y el Tejido de Punto" in Relaciones, Vol.I, 3. Michoacán, México.

Medina, Ignacio, 1980 "Un Dinamismo Frustrado: La Industria Metal-Mecánica de Guadalajara", in Relaciones, Vol.I, 3, Michoacán, México.

Safa, Patricia, 1979 Empresarios Agrícolas en Ciudad Guzmán, Jalisco. B.A. thesis, Universidad Iberoamericana, México.

Arias, Lailson, de la Peña, Medina, G. de la Rocha, Escobar and Gabayet had produced papers for the "Primer Encuentro de Investigación Jalisciense: Economía y Sociedad" held in Guadalajara, Jalisco, August 1981.

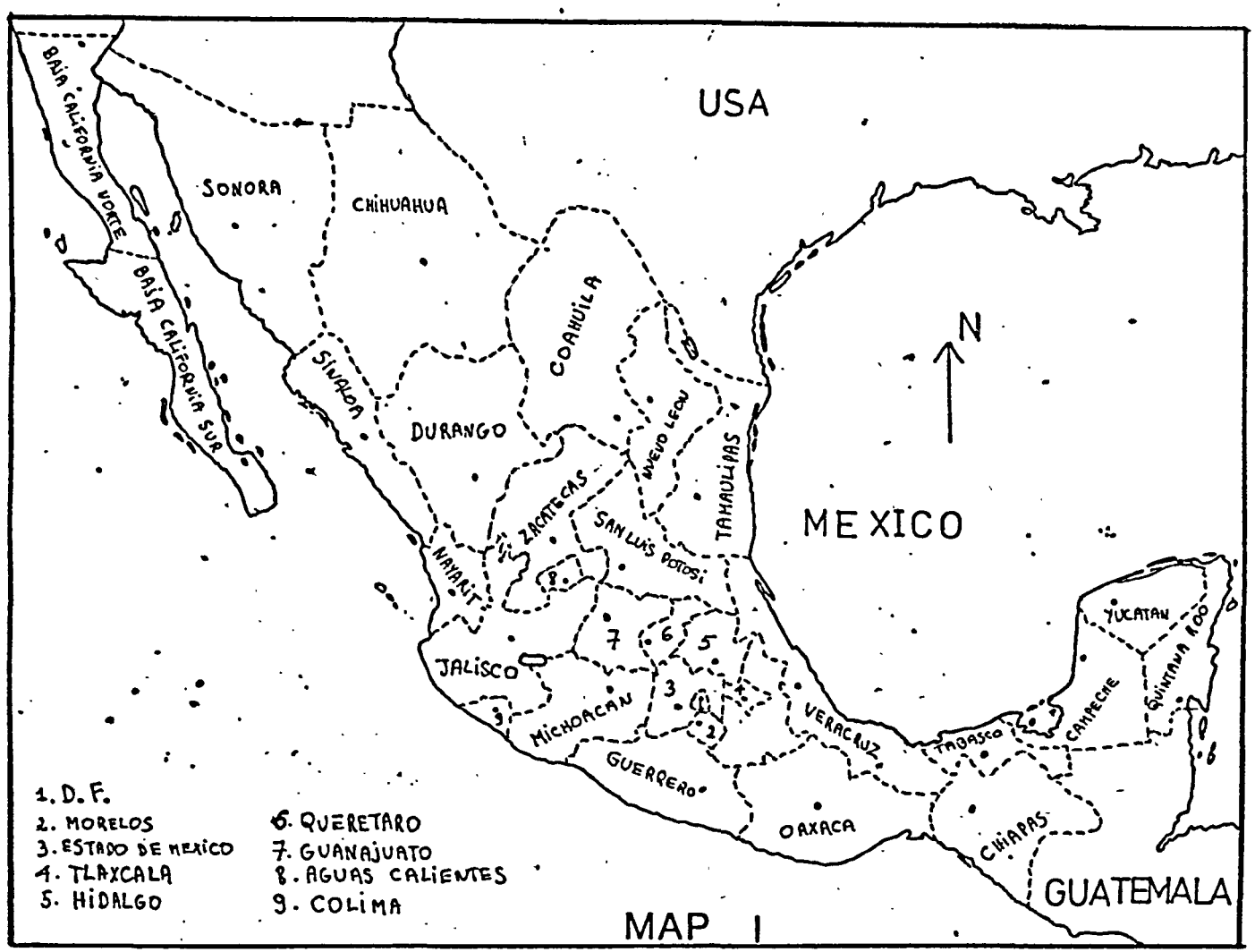
CHAPTER I INTRODUCTION

This thesis results from an investigation I carried out as part of a team in the South of Jalisco and Guadalajara area of Mexico. The aim of the research was to describe and analyse the patterns of regional development and social change. This region presented characteristics different from other regions of Mexico, for instance regions whose production was devoted primarily to export products, such as coffee in Chiapas, sugar in Morelos, and sisal in the Yucatan. In contrast to these export-oriented regions, the South of Jalisco exhibited in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a more self-contained pattern of development and was less dominated by the international economy. Later, through increasing government and capitalist intervention, the region became more closely integrated with the wider structure, leading to the establishment of several important 'enclave' industries.

This first chapter provides an account of the historical development and characteristics of the region, sketches in the theoretical and methodological approach used in the field study, and summarizes the layout of the thesis.

The Concept of Region and the Importance of Regional Studies

Regional analysis has in recent years become increasingly important. De la Peña, in an interesting paper on regional studies and social anthropology (de la Peña, 1981), surveys the main regional studies in the history of social anthropology in Mexico. He examines several previous works concerned with explaining cultural diversity and socio-economic inequality but whose theoret-


USA
MEXICO
GUATEMALA
N
BAJA CALIFORNIA NORTE
BAJA CALIFORNIA SUR
SONORA
CHIHUAHUA
SINALOA
DURANGO
COAHUILA
NUEVO LEON
TAMAULIPAS
ZACATECAS
SAN LUIS POTOSI
NAYARIT
JALISCO
MICHOACAN
GUERRERO
OAXACA
CHIAPAS
VERACRUZ
TABASCO
CAMPECHE
YUCATAN
QUINTANA ROO
1. D. F.
2. MORELOS
3. ESTADO DE MEXICO
4. TLAXCALA
5. HIDALGO
6. QUERETARO
7. GUANAJUATO
8. AGUAS CALIENTES
9. COLIMA

MAP I

ical problematic is not clearly articulated. One reason for this is that these studies use a concept of culture that is essentially static and atomistic, giving little attention to a notion of social system that might link the local community with the wider social order (e.g. the American-influenced community studies approach). Because of this, such studies fail to take proper account of concrete historical processes and do not identify important regional configurations within which the community is situated. De la Peña argues that questions concerning socio-cultural differences between localities and social groups that social anthropology characteristically poses, require a regional approach. However, he emphasizes that the concept of region is "not a trans-historical category....[nor] a univocal concept around which one can construct an ideal type or a general theory of regions. On the contrary, it is an historical concept, polyvocal, whose meaning is modified by circumstances of time and place....; it is finally, a methodological resource of particular importance demanded by theory itself" (de la Peña, 1981: 45, my translation).

More recent regional studies take up the issue of socio-cultural differentiation from the point of view of the emergence, consolidation and crisis of productive systems: productive systems, society and culture, have a history, and regions likewise, historical definitions (de la Peña, 1981: 77). De la Peña indicates that in the study of regions both a political economy and a social anthropology perspective are needed:

> Wolf and Strickon show that the colonial political economy caused the emergence of regions of different type; Palerm, following Luxemburg, states that the formation of the world capitalist system in the sixteenth

> century is the starting point of regional analysis: the system did not have a homogenizing, but a differentiating, effect. The cardinal point of the debate should now be posed in terms of political economy - how does the system define the labour objectives and products of distinct zones, and why? .... the anthropologist has the task of showing the complexity of the process, the variability of the responses and local alternatives...., the impossibility of reducing history to a lineal schema. The diachronic interest of the anthropologist, moreover, allows him to explore the importance of patterns of organisation, prior to the impact of the capitalist system, which have determined the spatial configuration.
>
> (de la Peña, 1981: 79, my translation)

As the relation between the parts and the whole is a relation defined by mechanisms of subordination - of power - a regional analysis then presupposes knowledge of the history and nature of the colonial state and of the emergence of the nation state. Thus, in the Mexican case, the development of centralized power structures led to a spatial division of production and labour, and subsequently to a confrontation of central government authority with regional power elites that had emerged from such divisions. De la Peña suggests that "an analytically effective form of defining regionalization is in terms of the existence of nuclei of power, localized and relatively able to make decisions independently from the centre.... Regionalism does not exist any more when the nation state fully centralizes power" (de la Peña, 1981: 79-80, my translation).

Regional studies also show that the concept of market is important in the shaping and reshaping of regional units. The work of Strickon (1965), for example, demonstrates that the region of the Yucatan was created as a result of foreign demand for sisal which was produced in the peninsular. Likewise, the region

of Morelos, linking the lowland sugar producing area with the highlands which provided the labour, came into existence with the growing demand for sugar by Mexico city (de la Peña, 1981). In other regions, it was the internal market that was crucial: various micro-regions producing different products exchanged these within a well-integrated regional unit. This was the case with the South of Jalisco in the earlier centuries. The pattern was later disrupted when the regional market system was invaded by cheaper products coming from outside, mainly from Mexico city.

The restructuring of regions consequent upon capitalist development is emphasized by Massey (1978: 106). She points out that,

> The process of accumulation within capitalism continually engenders the desertion of some areas, and the creation there of new reserves of labour-power, the opening up of other areas to new branches of production, and the re-structuring of the territorial division of labour and class relations overall.

These, then, are central issues - increasing centralization by the state, the penetration of the capitalist market, and the development of a spatial division of production - to be considered in the historical and structural account of the South of Jalisco economy which follows. The historical account of the changing nature of regional units and pattern of economic development in the South of Jalisco is extended into the contemporary period, where the introduction of a number of enclave industries and the growing importance of Guadalajara as the commercial and administrative centre have led to the restructuring of the regional system. Much of the historical data are


MAP II
JALISCO
and its
municipalities
Durango
Zacatecas
Aguas Calientes
Nayarit
Guanajuato
PACIFIC OCEAN
Colima
Michoacan

drawn from the research project carried out by the Jalisco/ Guadalajara team. The account of the nature of industrial enterprise and its workforce is taken from interviews and case studies with workers from two enclave industries and two textile mills undertaken by myself during 1976-79. These data are elaborated in detail in Parts I and II of the thesis.

The South of Jalisco: Historical Background and Patterns of Development

The State of Jalisco is situated in the western part of Mexico. It is surrounded by the States of Colima, Michoacan, Guanajuato, San Luis Potosi, Aguas Calientes, Zacatecas and Nayarit (see Maps I and II). At present the State is divided into five regions: North, South, Highlands, Coast and Centre. This study deals with the Southern region and with Guadalajara, the capital city. The cement factory and the paper mill are situated in the South and the textile mills in Guadalajara. The Southern region is made up of several valleys and mountain chains possessing different resources: the Sayula Valley, with nitre (saltpetre) fields but with water to irrigate the scarce cultivable land; the Tapalpa Sierra, with mineral veins, woodlands and cattle; the Valley of Zapotlan with land for cereals and forage crops; the interconnected Valleys of Zapotiltic, Tamazula, Tuxpan, Tecalitlan and Pihuamo which have mineral veins, rivers and streams, good conditions for the production of semi-tropical crops, and lime deposits; the Tigre Sierra, where cattle and pine woodlands are found; and finally, the massif formed by the Colima and Fuego Volcanoes which are covered with rich woodland (see de la Peña, 1977: 5).

The Development of the Region

During the Colonial Period, geographical isolation and juridical and political ambiguity* allowed the emergence of a considerable regional autonomy with powerful local élites who combined different resources in vigorous hacienda-based enterprises. These enterprises existed alongside the Indian communities, and old Spanish administrative towns which functioned as staging points in the trade routes linking the Pacific Coast with the central part of Mexico. The larger enterprises were essentially multiple, covering agricultural production, mining and small industrial production. Labour was drawn from both the peasantry of the communities and the haciendas.

In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the product which gave most stimulus to the region was sugar cane. The production of sugar, together with wool textiles, mining and the production of salt were the important activities. The production of food and small industrial goods (e.g. pottery and leather items) were also important, and commerce and transport were the bridge between all the parts, giving stimulus and,

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* De la Peña (1979: 14-15) writes: "At the end of the sixteenth century, two political jurisdictions were already consolidated in the South of Jalisco: the alcaldía of Sayula, which comprised the towns entrusted to Avalos (Sayula-Zacoalco), and the alcaldía of Zapotlan which comprised this valley, the valleys of the South and the western slopes of the Sierra del Tigre. Since these jurisdictions belonged geographically to Nueva España and juridically the same towns pertained to the Audiencia of Nueva Galicia, the functioning of the two powers had blurred borders, and bitter disputes between authorities and adjoining landlords were a daily matter. To add to this ambiguous situation, the Franciscan convents, which had been founded as part of the Provincia Michoacana of Saint Peter and Saint Paul, were afterwards adjudged to belong to the Provincia de Santiago de Xalisco, though as parishes they still were part of the diocese of Michoacan." (my translation).

in turn, being stimulated by them. The development of a growing internal market for these various goods was responsible for the vitality of the economy of the Southern region of Jalisco. The workers in the mines, haciendas and textile workshops were incorporated within this market (de la Peña, 1979: 16). The Southern region continued to expand its economy by developing the mining industry (iron, silver, mercury). This development was manifest in the increase in population in several of the towns near to these mines. In the two most important cities of the region, Sayula and Zapotlan, there emerged an urban type of population made up of bureaucrats, merchants and craftsmen. The craftsmen used local raw materials and products to manufacture consumer goods (de la Peña, 1979: 17). Although the main thrust of this development was exportable products (such as minerals and livestock), this generated, little by little, subsidiary activities that supported and stimulated each other and the internal market (de la Peña, 1979: 17).

In the later colonial period, Guadalajara assumed greater economic and administrative importance. In 1708 it had become a Capitanía General but by 1786 with the introduction of the system of intendencias the city acquired increased juridical, political and military control over the South of Jalisco. To top it all, in 1791 the Real Consulado de Guadalajara was created which monopolized control of commerce in the western part of Mexico; and in 1795 the South of Jalisco was officially incorporated into the bishopric of Guadalajara. Under these pressures several hacienda-enterprises split up or were taken over by commercial interests from Guadalajara (de la Peña, 1979: 18).

Independence and the Nineteenth Century

Due to the small interest that the Southern region of Jalisco had for the export sector, its development was, throughout the colonial period, slow compared with other regions (e.g. the important mining and agricultural area of El Bajío). One consequence of this was that its economy turned inwards on itself generating its own relatively small but dynamic internal market. The emergence of Guadalajara as a new political and economic centre had the effect of breaking down this local, relatively self-contained economy. However, the centralization process was interrupted with the coming of Independence from Spain. Independence brought an end to the colonial bureaucratic structure and in the early years the new state faced major difficulties in achieving political stability and control of the provinces. This had the result of allowing the South of Jalisco to regain once more its former relative autonomy; but now several of the enterprises were in the hands of new, immigrant owners. This situation enabled both agricultural and small industrial businesses to grow again. Several new wheat, sugar and timber mills were established, and cotton and livestock production became important. Small land owners and craftsmen proliferated; the Indian communities continued to produce; there was great economic variety and finally the mines resumed their production, mainly of iron ore. The logic of the process was, once more, to satisfy the demands of the internal market, through dynamic nuclei of production, one of these nuclei was the sugar mills, another the mines (de la Peña, 1979: 19-20). For the new Hacendados non-agricultural activities became important: for example the mines created their own foundry, and a paper mill, several sugar mills and a number

of commercial enterprises were also established. Besides this it was possible for the hacendados to expand agricultural activities thanks to the Indian communities loss of control of their lands due to the leyes de desamortización* which forced the sale of community lands (de la Peña, 1979: 26).

The new regional bourgeoisie that emerged was mostly made up of migrants to the Southern region of Jalisco. This group tried to conserve and extend its social network with wider social circles, as well as to consolidate its local links (de la Peña, 1979: 28). Political power was more and more in the hands of the new hacendados, especially after the desamortización laws almost eliminated the assets of the Indian community and the municipio (municipality) which previously had the right to collects its own taxes. Indeed an important factor in maintaining control over the regional economy was control over local markets, since almost all the products of the region were sold locally (de la Peña, 1979: 29-30). The changes, then, in ownership and local government were critical.

The Decline of Regional Autonomy from the Beginning of the Twentieth Century

These developments towards a more centralized pattern of regional development based upon a locally-resident élite tied to a commercial class in Guadalajara was disrupted in the very early part of the twentieth century when the extension of the railway from Mexico signalled the penetration of foreign capital and the flooding of the local markets with cheaper mass-produced goods from Mexico city and abroad.

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* For more information about the leyes de desamortización see historical appendix.

The abolition of the taxes between the different federal states, and building of railways, brought to the region many goods which competed with local products. This resulted in the disappearance of the foundries and the paper factory. The mines also lost the stimulus of regional demand and, as a result, they closed or were acquired by external companies. This decline in local production was also manifest in smaller industrial concerns. Table I compares the industries operating in 1900 and 1913 in different municipalities of the South of Jalisco, although the picture varies a little between municipalities, the overall impression is a drop in the number and variety of enterprises. A process of massive emigration also commenced in this period and has lasted until the present time.

In the agricultural sector, the opportunity to produce and sell to the big cities and the external market carried with it a change in the use of land. This was now devoted mainly, and where it was possible, to the production of cattle and sugar cane. But the haciendas were now in the hands of new owners, mainly merchants from Guadalajara as the former owners, in debt through trying to keep on producing for the new market, and affected by the closing of the mines and regional industries, had lost the ownership of their lands. The last blow to local owners was the change from the silver standard to the gold one which provoked a devaluation of the currency in 1905 (de la Peña, 1979: 32-33).

The Revolution of 1910 and La Cristiada* movement emerged in this context, and led to the closure of more sources of employment. Many haciendas were partially abandoned, or then changed

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* For more information about La Cristiada see historical appendix.

TABLE I: INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTS IN THE SOUTH OF JALISCO

	1900	1913
Munic. of Sayula Valley		
Amacueca	Soap Tanned leather Brown sugar	Brown sugar Tanned leather
Atoyac	Soap Brown sugar Tanned leather Pasta	Soap Brown sugar Pasta
Sayula	Soap Brown sugar Pasta Tanned leather Sugar cane liquor Wheat flour Tobacco	Soap Brown sugar Tanned leather Sugar cane liquor Cactus liquor Sugar Industrial alcohol Roots for brooms Soft drinks
Teocuitatlán	Soap Brown sugar Tanned leather Tobacco Beer	Soap Brown sugar Alcohol Beer Candles in three qualities (wax, paraffin wax, tallow)
Munic. of Tapalpa Sierra		
Tapalpa	Soap Tanned leather Tobacco Wheat flour Cactus liquor Paper	Tanned leather Textiles (wool & ixtle) Paraffin wax candles Cactus liquor
Atemajac de las tablas (de Brizuela)	Tanned leather Wheat flour Cactus liquor Cast iron	
Chiquilistlán	Soap Brown sugar Tanned leather	Soap Brown sugar Tanned leather

TABLE I: (continued)

	1900	1913
Munic. of Zapotlán Valley		
Ciudad Guzmán	Soap Tanned leather Pasta Wheat flour Wax candles Mineral water Yarns & textiles Sweets Shoes	Soap Pasta Soft drinks Matches Sweets Beer
San Sebastián (Gómez Farias)	Soap	Turpentine Cactus liquor
Munic. of Southern Valleys		
Zapotiltic	Soap Tanned leather Sugar cane liquor Sugar	Soap
Tuxpan	Soap Mezcal liquor Shoes	Tanned leather Candles
Tamazula	Soap Brown sugar Tanned leather Sugar cane liquor Sugar	Brown sugar
Tecalitlán	Soap Brown sugar Tanned leather Sugar cane liquor Sugar	Soap Brown sugar Tanned leather Alcohol
Pihuamo	Soap Brown sugar Sugar cane liquor Sugar	Brown sugar Tanned leather Shoes
Tonila	Brown sugar Tanned leather Sugar cane liquor Sugar Wheat liquor	Tanned leather

Source: De la Peña, 1977: 17, 18, 19.

over to cattle raising and/or large-scale plantations, methods requiring less labour. The population was divided into agraristas (demanding agrarian reform) and cristeros (largely made up of a small land owning class). Fights occurred between them and with the federal army: this increased the process of emigration from the area. Violence did not stop until the 1940's. The agrarian reform was achieved during the regime of President Cardenas (1934-40) which brought about the end of most of the haciendas. The time of the hacienda and of the local oligarchy was gone. After La Cristiada, the government recognised the need to complete the integration of the country, both economically and politically. The road networks were a dominant aspect of this second phase of the penetration of the centralist state into formerly relatively autonomous regions. This phase was characterized by a new development model which led to a territorial reorganisation linking the agricultural zones of the South of Jalisco directly with the wider urban, commercial, industrial and political system, without the need for an intermediary regional élite. This was the beginning of a new era: the era of financial and agro-industrial neolatifundia, and the beginnings of 'enclave' industries (de la Peña, 1979: 34). The financial neolatifundia cornered production by advanced purchase of crops or by monopolizing marketing channels. This was particularly the case for sorghum and, to a lesser extent, maize. The agro-industrial neolatifundia controlled the use of land by legal concession or by negative sanctions, and its products were processed by the enterprise itself. This was the case with sugar and timber.

The 'enclave' industries were created with capital external to the region. The main difference between these enterprises and

those of the nineteenth century is that the former are not interrelated, do not generate capital to be invested locally, and are not owned by an élite interested in regional development but by national and international consortia. Their production is not directed to regional, but to national and international markets. In the present day, the specialised micro-regions no longer combine to form a larger region grouping endowed with a logic of its own; the meaning of this differentiation has to be looked for within much wider boundaries.

The characteristics of the new industries have created new conditions in the region. The monopoly over the most important resources of the area-land, limestone deposits, timber, minerals-in a one-product production system has prevented the emergence of other alternative resource-use activities. Furthermore, the fact that the new industries and the new latifundia are mechanized to a high degree, means that they require only a small labour force and this, once again encourages massive migration, a process that started at the beginning of this century, when the railway first entered the area. The agro-industries specialise in one product (e.g. sugar or forage) which means that less land is devoted to food production. Thus food has to be imported from other regions. Also, although commerce and intermediary activities are important, the profits from them are generally not reinvested in the region. Many products are not even sold in the region where they have been produced. All this means that the factories extract resources from the area and do not give any help for further development. And the fact that they are not controlled by regional capital means that outside interests are the more important ones. This has had repercussions, of course, at the political level. Local

politics are now subordinated to external interests.

Thus there was a change in the capitalist development model. The former self-contained model of regional development is no longer functional in the context of a total incorporation of the country to an international market dominated by monopoly capital. Localist strategies that organised the natural resources according to internal regional interests can no longer effectively operate. New industries grow and consolidate themselves without being dependent upon local demand. Such new industries represented in the area by: the Tamazula Sugar Mill now belonging to a private national sugar consortium,* several enterprises which deal with limestone exploitation, such as Incalpa, Cal Fernández, Cal Huescalapa, and the two biggest, Cal y Cemento Guadalajara and Cementos La Tolteca (both founded by external capital), the latter being a subsidiary of a transnational company; and an iron mine, Las Encinas, founded with capital from Monterrey. De la Peña (1977: 23) shows that a few enterprises from the nineteenth century are still alive. There is still a match factory in Cd. Guzmán but this has been taken over by a national consortium. There is still some production of soap and also a considerable number of workshops in leather, wool textiles and pottery. These surviving industries have, as common characteristics, a low volume of production and are not linked to the enclave sector. The enclave industries do not stimulate or promote the emergence of subsidiary enterprises, but the contrary. For instance, the Tamazula Sugar Mill has led to the disappearance of small sugar mills in its area of influence (for example, Santa Cruz Sugar Mill which disappeared in 1950).

* For further information about the Tamazula Sugar Mill see the theses by Escobar, Agustín and González, Mercedes, 1979.

The new centralization model of development gives to the area special characteristics. As we can see from Table II the population is static. We can only see a small increase in the industrial municipios (Zapotiltic, Tuxpan, Tamazula), in the sugar cane municipios (Tecalitlán, Pihuamo), and in Cd. Guzmán which is a commercial and service centre. This demographic stagnation indicates that the region does not provide the population with enough employment to stay and make a living in the area. This is due to several factors: agricultural land is concentrated in a few hands. There exist, almost in every municipio, estates of over 3000 has. The big industries monopolize huge land extensions: for timber and sugar production and for the growing of forage crops (such as sorghum). These types of commercial crops do not need a large labour force, or do so only during short periods of time. Only a small amount of land is used for the production of food crops to be used in the region. This results in an increasing marginalization of the peasant who has not sufficient land to produce enough surplus or capital to enter the modern market. The lack of permanent, or even seasonal, employment obliges peasants to migrate temporarily or permanently. The peasant's other strategy is to try to complement a small income by engaging in the production of crafts (such as furniture petates, sopladores,* or pottery production), or in commerce. Commerce becomes an important activity in the area as it is necessary to bring into the region what it does not produce, and to distribute outside the region what it produces. The links with the exterior become very important and so do the individuals who control these links. In this new phase of develop-

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* Underlined words, when not explained in the text, can be found in the glossary.

TABLE II: EVOLUTION OF THE MUNICIPAL POPULATION IN THE SOUTH OF JALISCO

	1885	1912	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Amacueca	4661	5433	4338	4436	4513	4824	4795
Atoyac	8314	9136	8374	8236	8309	9143	8849
Sayula	13662	11209	12080	13189	14436	15704	18932
Techaluta	4232	2889	2160	2453	2390	2690	2822
Teocuitatlán	11657	9368	10272	10953	9903	12092	13117
Tapalpa	8170	8758	7811	8599	8132	9574	9657
Atemajac de Brizuela	6461	4079	3589	3142	4213	5225	5173
Chiquilistlán	6148	4961	4393	3664	4156	4514	4611
Ciudad Guzmán	23934	19914	20206	23144	25223	32170	49417
Gómez Farías	6523	5799	6242	7382	7268	8143	8553
Zapotiltic	9530	7937	9927	11389	13155	17558	21522
Tuxpan	10165	6587	10406	10837	14727	19026	23168
Tamazula	16301	16104	18783	22892	28098	35361	39151
Tecalitlan	6755	8789	9473	13365	12669	14122	16675
Pihuamo		9306	6621	7914	8357	12183	15675
Tonila	6445	6023	4689	4783	5593	6352	6916
Concepción de Buenos Aires	3682	4149	4482	5403	5732	6209	5366
Mazamitla	6348	4924	4661	5367	6636	7602	8200

Source: de la Peña, 1979: 34

ment the locally-based élite is principally made up of intermediaries (de la Peña, 1977: 25-28). But as the local élite has now lost effective control over the region local politics have become subordinated to the politico-economic interests of the centre (i.e. the central government and its regional delegates in Guadalajara).

Guadalajara, as we have already said, had importance in the South of Jalisco from 1708 when it became the Capitanía General and later in 1786 when the southern region became fully attached to it, militarily, politically and juridically. The local oligarchy tried to oppose the increasing interference of Guadalajara in its area and was able to do so until it lost its power, when the South of Jalisco was fully incorporated into, and became relevant to, the dynamics of the external sector and to the increasing centralization of the state. When this happened the local élite became merely intermediaries between the federal government or its agencies and the region.

The Development of Guadalajara

From early times the State of Jalisco was a peripheral region to the centre, except for its production of minerals and cattle. It had more the role of a hinge between the north and the central regions of the country. Since the sixteenth century Guadalajara exercised, thanks to its strategic location, an important commercial role; it played more the role of distributor than producer. Goods came from Mexico city or from overseas, and in return cattle and minerals (e.g. saltpetre) were sold to Mexico city (Riviére d'Arc, 1977: 91).

In the eighteenth century, the decline of the Spanish metropolis allowed the colonies to diversify their production in order to satisfy internal demand. At the end of that century, the merchants of Guadalajara had enough power to create the Consulado (1791) that allowed the control of commercial activities all over its hinterland. The Consulado strengthened the links between the city of Guadalajara and its region (Ibid., 92).

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, just before Independence, Guadalajara was a more or less autonomous capital city and a dominant trading centre with links with California via San Blas (Ibid., 92). The wholesale trade was started and dominated by foreigners, mainly French, Lebanese and Spaniards. During the War of Independence, Guadalajara had achieved an important autonomy with respect to Mexico city and wholesale traders took advantage of this situation and of the fact that direct communications with California were difficult from Mexico city. They were able to establish a trade link with California through the San Blas Harbour near to Guadalajara. After Spain, the main suppliers of manufactured goods to western Mexico were California and the USA (Ibid., 93).

But by the second half of the nineteenth century, the first industries, textiles, paper, tobacco, appeared in Guadalajara. These industries were founded mainly in the city by local criollos but, as we have already described, a paper mill and two foundries were established in the South of Jalisco. There were also some textile industries in the Jalisco Highlands. The textile industries studied in this thesis were founded by inhabitants of

Jalisco with capital accumulated in commerce. This early industrialization, promoted by local criollos, and French settlers who owned the textile mills (see Olveda, 1981: 94-115), created some pressures towards the integration of the regional market. The opening of new roads in the second half of the nineteenth century can, in part, be explained by this development. In their beginnings these factories could only supply a part of the demands of the regional market. The rest of the demand was satisfied by the French, Lebanese and Spanish traders who took advantage of what was a confused situation with poorly organised trade, to establish themselves and start their fortunes. They were aware of the advantages and possibilities of Guadalajara becoming an important distribution centre for the north-east region of the country. Rivière d'Arc (1977: 93) states that, starting from nothing, the French organised big caravans of mules to travel the State of Jalisco and the neighbouring states carrying all sorts of products from the USA and Europe. These small commercial enterprises had become big department stores by 1886.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, these French merchants started to acquire the textile factories of the criollos. They wanted to compete with products which were coming from Mexico city, which had been made possible by the introduction of railways and the improvement of the roads. The best way to do this was for them to become producers. A second reason for the acquisition of factories was the change, in 1905, from the silver to the gold standard which made the import of goods from Europe and the USA more expensive and therefore less profitable. To produce their own fabrics was, in these circumstances, the best strategy. In spite of these industrial developments and some decline in its

autonomy with the coming of the roads and railways, it has remained, until very recently, a mainly commercial city. Industry acquired further importance in the 1960's when new industries were created. Its importance as a centre of distribution and of public services created a great in-migration from its areas of influence (for instance from the South of Jalisco). The goods that Guadalajara produces, mainly textiles and shoes, are distributed wholesale to the South of Jalisco and the north-east. The commercial system is complex and still very important. But the small, local commercial enterprises have disappeared under the national and transnational commercial chains (e.g. Woolworth, Sears, Aurrerá, Gigante), and Guadalajara is every day more dependent on Mexico city. But the commercial activities of Guadalajara are allowing less and less commercial autonomy to the micro-regions, which are themselves every day in turn more dependent on the state capital.

The Disarticulation of the South of Jalisco and the Character of Industrial Enterprise

De la Peña (1977 passim) emphasized that the main characteristic of the Mexican State during the last century has been its centralization tendency. The centralization process started with the definitive triumph of the liberals in 1867. During the Porfiriato period it became more vigorous and the 1917 Constitution renewed and strengthened this tendency. The Mexican Revolution of 1910, although it had as its aims restoration of land to the peasants and more autonomy to the regions according to several authors, it accomplished the opposite and provided further impetus to the tendency to centralize. The Revolution and then La Cristiada movement resulted in an increased aware-

ness by the State that a better integration and control of the parts was necessary. The centralization of power needed to be effective and more inclusive. The result was an increase in federal executive power and a fall, if not almost a complete disappearance, of regional autonomous power.

Centralization of power had its parallel in the process of economic centralization. This started with the annulment of the fiscal power of the municipalities and the weakening of the fiscal powers of the various State Governments in order to accumulate capital at the centre, i.e. Mexico city. The second important point in economic centralization was the appearance of an entrepreneurial National State (see Glade, 1979). The activity of State agencies has become an important part of the country's economy. It also influences, to a high degree, the pattern of private investment which tends to follow the centralist tendencies of the State, and which leads to the well-known phenomenon of "unequal development".

The research in the South of Jalisco set out to study the processes of development in this region, focussing upon the complex phenomena of "unequal development". This served as a broad starting point for the consideration of certain aspects of the socio-economic evolution of the South of Jalisco. Unequal or uneven development (de la Peña, 1977: 2) does not imply simply a lack of investment in certain regions, but also, the presence of certain kinds of investment. The main result is that investment benefits the economic and political powers that are localized in the area but these are controlled from outside the region itself. The resulting enterprises can be defined as 'enclaves' of intense economic activity which work in isolation

from the regional context and, as a result, do not develop many important backward or forward linkages into the surrounding economic environment (see Cardoso and Faletto, 1969: 48-63). The entrepreneurs that found and conserve these enclave enterprises do not live in, nor are they interested in, the region: they are part of centralist groups and their profits are invested in activities which consolidate the central hegemony. Two of these 'enclave' industries, the paper mill and the cement factory, form a central part of the thesis. They are contrasted with a third and different type of industry - that of textiles - which has a long history in the region and therefore reflects the longer term development of the region.

In the analysis that follows (see Part I, Chapters II, III and IV), I deal with the history of the three enterprises since their foundation, looking at the sources of capital, their impact on the area, their internal organisation, the supply of raw materials, and the nature of the markets they serve. I also describe the characteristics of the work force engaged in the different production processes, and look at the Union, its history and its role within the factory and outside it. The question of Unionisation is important, since, as Roberts has argued (Roberts, 1978 a) : 6), "a crucial variable affecting economic policy by either public or private sector in peripheral locations is political control. The economic advantages of developing a "cheap labour" economy depend on the political mechanisms available for ordering the population. These considerations are specially important in understanding the dynamic of peripheral economies....." We will see that Unionisation is not the only means to order the population and to develop a

"cheap labour".

Another consequence of the economic disarticulation experienced by the region has been the lack of a dynamic urban hierarchy. Political centralization has exaggerated the effects of economic centralization on the agrarian structure of the region: the decline of the traditional power structure has left a vacuum of political power which the State has filled directly and without the mediation of any regional élite (Roberts, 1978 a): 22). The central State, that is, has to avoid being threatened by local élite groups and, in order to do this, it has to destroy their bargaining power. Hence the élites of the South of Jalisco act now merely as intermediaries. In addition, the State attempts to fragment the labour force. This is achieved, for instance, through co-opting the workers through the offer of high wages and fringe benefits. The high unemployment that exists in the area threatens the privileged position of the 'enclave' workers who tend to sever their links with less lucky persons such as the peasants, casual workers and women working under the maquila (putting-out) system, and, at the same time, try to monopolise the industrial jobs for their sons. This monopolisation of industrial jobs and the low turnover may lead to a segmentation of the labour market and to the crystallization of a privileged stratum of workers (Roxborough, 1981: 90).

The Social Origins and Characteristics of the Workers

After I have presented a study of the industries themselves, I then focus on the workers. Here I have tried to isolate, with the help of record cards, the main characteristics of the working

force: their origins, levels of education, salaries, numbers of years in the factory, promotions, etc. The second step was to select twenty workers for case studies and genealogical analysis. In each of the two enclave factories, I completed general interviews and twenty genealogies consisting of four generations, starting with the grandparents of the interviewee and finishing with his children. Following this, I chose two workers to carry out deeper case study investigations. These case studies are presented in detail in Part II of the thesis. This approach, which explores the life-careers of the workers and their families, as well as their economic strategies, plans for the future and social networks, helps us to understand the processes of regional development. Long has argued (Long, 1977: 187-88) that actor-oriented models of behaviour, which identify the social strategies used by different individuals and households, can help with an understanding of socio-economic change. This approach is especially useful if combined with an analysis of differential responses to change since "....it focuses upon the variations in response to broadly similar external circumstances shown by different social groups and categories; and it examines how local economies are articulated with the wider system through the activities of brokers of different types..." (Long, 1977: 187). Developing this point I would argue that by focussing on the industrial workers, which are an important group in the region - they have a regular income, much higher than the majority of the region's inhabitants -, by looking at their economic strategies, where they invest etc., we will come to a better understanding of the ways in which the penetration of capitalism has shaped the region, and occasioned differential responses from the population. By looking at the economic

strategies of the workers, at the occupations that their relatives have and at their patterns of migration, we learn about the structure of the region, and through the genealogies we learn something about the socio-economic changes that have taken place.

The Link Between Individual Life Histories and Structural Change

As I have already indicated in general terms, we can distinguish three phases in the region's articulation with the capitalist system:

a) 1840-1890: this stage is characterised by the import of European industrial technology (mainly British). The region achieved industrial and agricultural expansion supported by the consolidation of a regional market. The haciendas, ranches, mills and domestic industries produced for this increasing regional market. There were some exports but the region did not depend on external markets.

b) 1890-1940: the regional market was invaded by national and foreign goods which took the place of the local industrial products and eventually led to the bankruptcy of many of them. From then on, local production was directed towards export production (sugar, cereals, etc.). The end of the protectionist taxes in 1896 and the change from the silver standard to the gold standard in 1905 resulted in a diminution in the aquisitive power of the local bourgeoisie and made them still less competitive. The traders and distributors, and those who could produce for the external market, constituted the new regional élite. Besides that, between 1910 and 1940, a series of events produced a crisis in

regional enterprises: the Revolution, La Cristiada, the Land Reform, the 1929 economic recession and the opening up of better communications (roads mainly). All this resulted in high out-migration and in the establishment of a number of enclave industries, neolatifundia and big commercial distributors.

c) 1940-onwards: this last phase is characterised by the presence of new enterprises controlled from outside the region by national and transnational groups.

In Chapter VII, I aim to link the genealogical analysis to these three different phases in the history of the region. Long (1977: 187) points out that

> a detailed analysis of local structures.... enables one to appreciate how the [wider regional or National] opportunity structure, which shapes the general pattern of aspirations and expectations, is, in fact, manipulated by particular households in accordance with their needs and in order to develop new economic and social strategies. The seizing of new opportunities is often facilitated by the use of existing sets of relationships and resources, and by the reinterpretation of traditional norms and values.

In similar vein, I examine the use workers have made of their social networks and how they have modified them, developing new relationships or severing old ones, in order to maximize their opportunities. This analysis is built upon biographical case studies.

The study of the cement plant and paper mill and their workforce is later compared with the case of a different type of industry, namely the textile mills located in Guadalajara. As I suggested, these mills were founded in the middle of the nineteenth century: this allows us a greater historical pers-

pective on development in the area. The markets to which their production was geared were, and are, different. The history of the workforce is also different from the history of the workers in the enclave industries. The former, as we will see in the case studies, have a tradition of some four generations of mill work. All this makes for differences that contribute to a fuller understanding of the regional system.*

The main concern of this thesis is, then, with the patterns of social, economic and political life that have resulted from the exigencies of capitalist expansion in an unevenly developed Mexican region and in its main urban centre. This process is seen through two important enclave industries located in the South of Jalisco region and through the textile mills located in Guadalajara, and their workforce. This industrial workforce is important for the region since it corners a significant part of the income and power of a region where unemployment remains very high.

Thesis Layout

The thesis is divided into two main parts. In the first part, which comprises three chapters, I present the history of the industries, their organisation, the characteristics of the workforce and the history of the Union. Chapter II deals with the paper mill, Chapter III with the cement plant and Chapter IV with the textile mills. The second part focuses on the labour force involved in the production process of these enterprises. Chapter V examines four case studies representing different

* I have tried to follow the same steps with each industry. Unfortunately, I was not able to get hold of the record cards for the textile mill workers. To try to minimize this deficiency I will present four case studies and four genealogies of workers of these mills.

categories of 'enclave' workers, Chapter VI deals with four case studies of textile workers, Chapter VII discusses the results of the eight genealogies and Chapter VIII deals with general conclusions.

The thesis is complemented with an Appendix which comprises: the characteristics of the workers who do not appear in the case studies; the eight genealogies with summary characteristics for each of the individuals appearing in them; a chronology of the main events in the history of Mexico; a list of historical documents relating to the textile industry in Jalisco, and a list of textile workers who have achieved positions of elected responsibility in the Union and municipality.

PART I

THE INDUSTRIES

Part I is made up of three chapters, each dealing with one of the industries studied. The first chapter, Chapter II of the thesis, focuses upon the paper mill of Atenquique. This was one of the first enclave industries established in the region (its foundation dates from 1946). As you will see, its history and purpose reveal clearly the increasing strength and interference of the Federal Government in the South of Jalisco region. The State's monopolisation of a very large area covered with pine trees prevented the emergence of other industries, whether small or large, that could have been established in the area by local investors. The Union is also an important dimension, since it brings together a very important social group in the area, namely those workers with very high salaries as compared with the rest of the region's inhabitants. Such a group might represent somewhat of a threat to Government if not controlled. The chapter analyses the workers' characteristics as well as the Union and the nature of its leadership, both within the mill and within the labour movement as a whole. I also examine the impact of these industries in the area: are they beneficial or not, what do they contribute to the development of the area, what do they extract from the area, and what are their political consequences for the region?

Chapter III gives an account of the second enclave industry studied: the cement plant, located near to Zapotiltic in the same region. The structure of the chapter follows that of Chapter II. After this I try to draw out some conclusions,

referring to the similarities and differences of the two enclave industries.

Chapter IV takes up a contrasting case: the textile mills, located in Guadalajara. Again I follow the same structure of analysis but concentrate upon explaining the reasons why it contrasts with the other two cases. The general outcomes of these differences are also discussed.

Part I concludes with some general comments and summarizes the various issues raised in the preceding chapters.

CHAPTER II THE PAPER MILL : ATENQUIQUE

INTRODUCTION

Atenquique was one of the first 'enclave' industries to be established in the South of Jalisco. In this chapter I aim to demonstrate why this paper mill can be considered an enclave industry. The industries that had existed previously in the area led to the creation of new industries or stimulated the emergence of other activities complementary to them. The introduction of enclave industry financed by capital external to the region, however, had few positive effects of this kind. The benefits were not invested in the zone and production was not destined for local or regional markets. They did not create complementary industries and were directed from outside the region by individuals fundamentally not interested in the development of the region itself. They also came to monopolise large land areas and substantial local resources, which prevented the emergence of other enterprises.

In this chapter and the following one concerning the cement factory, I wish to demonstrate how these new forms of production helped to destroy the more self-contained model of development which prevailed in the nineteenth century. I also describe how these enclave factories reorganised space and labour force, and assess their general impact on the region.

Location and Description of the Industrial Complex

Atenquique, the paper and cellulose mill, is located in the southern region of the State of Jalisco, about 23 km. from Cd. Guzmán, the most important urban centre in this area, and

160 km. from Guadalajara, the capital city of Jalisco. The area was chosen because of the abundance of the raw material necessary for the production of kraft paper* and cellulose: pine trees. There was also available another important element for production: water. The pine trees were allocated on the basis of the so-called Industrial Units of Forest Exploitation (Unidades Industriales de Explotación Forestal). An Industrial Unit is an area of land granted to a factory to provide its supply of raw materials needed for production. On March 22nd 1945 the then President of the Mexican Republic, Manuel Avila Camacho, signed a Decree by which an Industrial Union was established in favour of CIDASA (Compañia Industrial de Atenquique). The land area granted was some 1,018,000 has. - made up by 16 municipios of the State of Jalisco and one in the neighbouring State of Colima. Of this area 224,000 has. were tree covered. The designation of an Industrial Unit implies that only the factory to which the Unit is granted can exploit the area. The exploitation for purposes other than to supply the factory are forbidden. Atenquique's Unit comprises 60 ejidos and 1660 private properties (19% and 81% of the land area respectively). The monopoly of the factory over the exploitation of the Unit has created discontent among proprietors. The enterprise in charge of supplying raw material to the factory is called Union Forestal. This was created in 1940 and from the beginning was conceived of as a potential supplier of pine wood to the projected factory. Between 1940 and 1946 - when the factory started to function - the Union Forestal was supplying a furniture and timber factory. Nowadays, the Industrial Complex is composed of five companies:

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* Strong brown paper for wrapping, cement bags, cardboard, etc.

1. Union Forestal de Jalisco y Colima: the company in charge of supplying the raw material to the factory.
2. Compañia Industrial de Atenquique (CIDASA): the paper and cellulose factory.
3. Dirección Técnica Forestal de Atenquique: this is an agency of the Department of Agriculture and Livestock Ministry (SAG). Its functions are to plan and regulate forest exploitation.
4. Industrias Forestales Integrales (IFISA): which is a sawmill located at about 30 kms. from Atenquique. Selected wood is sent there to be sold as planks.
5. Empaques y Envases Nacionales (EYENSA): this enterprise manufactures boxes, cartons and other paper products using the paper and cardboard produced by CIDASA. It is located in Tlanepantla , State of Mexico, near the Capital of the Republic.

In this discussion I deal only with the paper factory and its workers. The paper mill and its two adjacent towns occupy an area of 342 has. These comprise a small valley where the factory is located and the hillsides that surround it where the factory towns are built. When the factory was planned there was already a railway to Guadalajara and Manzanillo. This facilitated the transportation of the machinery to the factory. Later, the new road Guadalajara - Colima was built. At the time of the opening of the factory, the land was owned by inhabitants of the nearest urban centre: Tuxpan. In 1940 the founder of the factory bought it, and in 1943 he started the construction of the factory and the residential areas for white and blue collar personnel.

The History of the Paper Mill

The factory started to function on October 28th 1946 but the project was older than that. In fact the paper and cellulose factory was part of a programme of Industrial Development of the Federal Government during the term of office of Lázaro Cárdenas. The Atenquique factory was in a group of industries considered as 'Basic and Necessary' to the industrial development of the country. Their competitiveness or lack of it was not judged the most important thing. The most important rationale for creating such industries were:

- the utilization of available natural resources,
- the creation of jobs, and
- the avoidance of foreign exchange (to import paper).

The factory was established by a private individual who had recourse to the development project and to plans and surveys carried out by the Economic Ministry. The entrepreneur started in 1942 with a share capital of six million pesos brought forward by himself and by bankers and traders from Guadalajara and Ciudad Guzmán. Some of the forest proprietors in the area to be exploited bought shares in exchange for granting timber rights for a period of 50 years.

In 1946, the share capital increased to 15 million pesos and since then it increased gradually by means of credit from the Federal Government through the Fund for Industrial and Commercial Development (later it became NAFINSA).* Between 1947, when the factory capital was 20 million pesos, and 1966, the enterprise was spectacularly successful. In those years, the

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* NAFINSA : Nacional Financiera S.A. is the State bank that gives loans to promote industry.

paper produced by the factory was of good quality, national competition was scarce, or did not exist at all, and the internal market was constantly increasing. In 1966, the share capital was 150 million, capitalisation accomplished through the reinvestment of profits. During this period the success of the factory was satisfactory.

An important fact to be kept in mind is that the factory was a private enterprise for only a few years. In 1948, the Federal Government had acquired, through credits, the majority of the shares. The Government had an interest in the good performance of those industries called 'Basic and Necessary'. After the Government intervention the factory and shareholders made significant profits. 1968 was an important year in the life of the Industrial Complex. The factory could not meet the needs of the Mexican paper market and the management of the factory decided to increase the productive capacity from 37,000 to a potential 105,000 tons a year, but not the productivity. The Mexican kraft-type paper was and still is more expensive than the foreign product.

The factory expansion represented an investment twice as large as first planned. The difference can only be explained in terms of a badly planned project. The enterprise had asked for a loan from a foreign bank, the loan being granted at a 3% annual interest. On the basis of this credit the management had made contracts with machinery manufacturers and other contractors. At this moment, the Federal Fund for Industrial Development, presently the owner of the majority of the shares, obliged the management to channel the credits through the Fund.

The delay in granting the loan provoked the loss of the deposits because the factory could not fulfil the deals already contracted, and the higher interest (14%) they had to pay the Fund, increased the debt disproportionately. The burden of this debt, and the high operating cost of the whole industrial complex originated a serious crisis in the financial stability of the enterprise. Since then, the Atenquique Complex has been an enterprise that needed Federal Government financial help in order to survive. It is another of the factories owned by the Government that loses money. Here we will deal only with some of the factors that can explain this phenomena. The facts pointed out here are also related to the increasing centralization which brought about the loss of the relative autonomy of the region and made it increasingly dependent. From the beginning the local shareholders lost the ownership of the factory. The Federal Government took the factory into its own hands and from then on the General Direction was in the capital city of the country. The General Director was appointed by the President of the Republic. The man chosen for the job was not always the most competent, since the job was a political post. This had several implications: the director tended to ignore the problems that occurred in the factory, since he was not trained for the job, and, living far away from the factory, he was limited by and easily-manipulated by the technical and administrative staff. He was in the hands of the managers of the factory, at least while he was acquiring the necessary knowledge. This led to maintenance of the status quo and to no explicit delimitation of responsibilities. The visits of the General Director to the factory were also sporadic.

This geographical distance and the lack of real knowledge of what a paper factory is, reduces the General Director to a mere accomplice of the internal structure. The irregularities are never explained and nobody asks for explanations; they cover up for each other. Besides this, as the appointment of General Director is political, it is subject to change every six years when there is a change of the President of the Republic. This minimizes the possibility for long-term projects of improvement.

All these factors lead to another problem within the factory: the internal administrative structure. This is a very consolidated structure, the great majority of the senior jobs being occupied by men who have been working in the factory for 20 to 25 years or more. For instance, the General Manager has been working in the factory for 27 years, and has been in his present job for four years; the General Overseer (the most important technical position) has been in the factory for a total of 30 years, and more than seven years in his present job; the Personnel Overseer has been working in the factory for 32 years (he arrived at the factory during the construction period) and has been 23 years in his actual job. These examples show the existence of a gerontocracy where there is little opportunity for young technicians and managerial personnel. Few of the directors are specialists in paper production, except the General Overseer who is a Chemical Engineer, all the others are managerial personnel: the General Director is a lawyer; the Sub-Director is an official auditor, as is also the General Manager. The salaries of the managerial staff are higher than those of the technicians. For instance, a book-keeper of the factory (who at the same time is the son-in-law of the General

Manager) earns twice the salary of the Chemical Engineers in charge of the planning department. We can see that there is a solid hierarchial structure. The higher and better paid jobs are of bureaucratic origin and are occupied by individuals who have been promoted through time and have consolidated their posts more by seniority than by competence in the job. This general lack of knowledge produces apprehension of improvements and new techniques. The best way to keep one's job and to achieve promotion is to avoid creating problems of this kind. This has created stagnation in ideas and new methods of production. The fear of creating problems has diminished the power of the management to control the workers. Good relations with the workers (with the Union leaders) are important to reach important posts. For instance, one of the power instruments of the General Manager over the General Director is that he is the only person capable of managing the Union. The Union is an important aspect one must consider in trying to shed some light on the causes of the crisis in the paper and cellulose factory.

The Union

The workers of the paper mill are members of one of the biggest Central Union in the country, the CTM. They form the 11th section of the Sindicato de trabajadores de las industrias papelera, cartonera, celulosas, sus materias primas y derivados de la República Mexicana. The CTM (Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos) was created in 1936 and is one of the three parts that constitute the PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) the party that has been leading the country for 50 years. The CTM comprises half of the unionized workers of the country and plays

a very important part in the country's political life. It is the institutional bridge with the Party and in some way with the political authorities (Secretario de Gobernación, del Trabajo or the Director of IMSS (Social security)). The CTM is comprised of important and strategic national unions, and has enrolled within it a vast range of organisations at local, regional, and national branches.

Section 11 of the paper Union was created in 1946. It has always been a section of the CTM and was imposed without the knowledge and consent of the workers. The section was created by a member of the National Executive Committee at the request of the factory management. After its creation the 11th section was in charge of the recruitment of the workers for the factory. This meant that the workers needed to be members of the Union if they wished to be hired. This lack of participation since the beginning of the Union has deeply marked the attitudes of the workers throughout the life of the Union. Some details of these features of the Union will be given.

Characteristics of Union Leaders

The relations between the workers and management of a factory are regulated by a Contrato Colectivo de Trabajo (joint agreement over working conditions) which is renegotiated every two years.* The leaders of the Union section remain in their posts for two years also. From 1946 to 1974 we found a total of 75 Union posts that have been occupied by 41 individuals.**

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* But there is a wages revision every year.

** Among these 41 we found 7 pairs of brothers., which shows even more the monopolization of Union portfolios (see Table I).

TABLE I DISTRIBUTION OF UNION PORTFOLIOS IN THE PAPER MILL 1946-1976

Number	Number of Portfolios	Year															
		76a	74b	72	70	68	66	64	62	60	58	56	54	52*	50	48*	46
1) Brothers	6			SG	SG	ST		D	SG					D			
2)	1												SO				
3 Brother of 27	3		D	SG	D												
4	1			ST													
5) Brothers	2		D			D											
6)	4		SG	D		D		D									
7) Brothers	4		ST	D	ST			SG									
8)	1				SA												
9	1								D								
10	4												SG	SG	D		SG
11	2			D						D							
12	1				D												
13) Brothers	1				D												
14)	1						SG										
15	1											SG					
16) Brothers	3				D					D	SI						
17)	1									D							
18	5		D				SA		D		D	D					
19	1										SO						
20) Brothers	3						D				SA	D					
21)	1									SA							
22	2						D						D				
23	4	SG	D				D		D								
24	1							ST									
25	4					D		D		SG	D						
26	1								ST								

TABLE I (continued)

Number		Number of Portfolios	Year 76a	74b	72	70	68	66	64	62	60	58	56	54	52*	50	48*	46
27	Brother of 3	1												ST				
28		2	ST								D							
29		1									D							
30		1										SG						
31		2					SG						SI					
32		3		D											D			D
33		1																ST
34		1													D			
35		1													D			
36		1										ST						
37		1														SG		
38		1														SE		
39		1														SA		
40		1														D		
41		2															SG	D

* 1948 and 1952 were extensions of the previous contract

Key : SG - General Secretary
ST - Labour Secretary
SE - External Affairs Secretary
SI - Internal Affairs Secretary
SA - Minutes Secretary
D - Delegate
SO - Organisation Secretary

Source: Santoyo Gamio, Raul and Griffiths, J.H., Proyecto de Desarrollo de la Comunidad de Atenquique, Jalisco, Centro Nacional de Productividad, Mexico 1973

a and b : Contratos Colectivos de Trabajo of those years

Of these, 21 are dead or in retirement; the other 20 members work in the factory. It is of these 20 that I write. The characteristics of these leaders are the following: 80% (16/20) are native to Tuxpan, Jalisco; 90% (18/20) are more than 40 years old; 95% (19/20) have been working in the enterprise between 20 and 30 years; all are literate and all are on high salaries (see Table II). One might think that the high salaries would be correlated with the leaders' seniority in the factory. This is partly true, but by relating seniority and salaries of all the workers we found that 248 of the workers had been working there for 20 to 30 years - the same number of years as the union leaders - but the salaries do not correlate: that is, from 248 of the workers with this seniority only 84 (34%) earn between 300 and 450 pesos per day); the proportion for the union leaders with the same seniority is very nearly double (65%). Union leaders continue to receive their usual salary during their term of office.

Another datum that attracted our attention was the unequal representation by departments: from the eight departments of the factory, two of them have never had a representative in the Union (Departments of Traffic and Town Maintenance). On the other hand, the Departments of Electricity, Quality Control and, at a lower level, Factory Maintenance, have almost monopolised the Union leadership. The rest of the departments hardly count. The continuation in power of some Union leaders, going from one Union job to another in successive years, implies or reinforces the concentration in some departments. The relations between Union leaders and managements have been good. Both are conscious that they have much to gain by keeping on good terms. The Union is

TABLE II CHARACTERISTICS OF TWENTY UNION LEADERS (UNTIL JULY 1976)

	Place of Birth	Age	Place of Residence	Salary/Day	Level of Education
1	Tuxpan, Jal.	52	Atenquique	329.14	Elementary
2	" "	41	Tuxpan	351.91	Incomplete Elementary
3	" "	53	"	431.28	Elementary
4	" "	43	"	354.91	Elementary
5	" "	45	"	431.09	Elementary
6	Jalisco	45	"	431.09	Elementary
7	Tuxpan, Jal.	36	"	286.85	Elementary
8	Jalisco	53	"	338.98	Incomplete Elementary
9	Tuxpan, Jal.	40	"	204.15	Elementary
10	" "	54	"	214.18	Elementary
11	" "	49	"	355.63	Elementary
12	" "	48	"	336.96	Elementary
13	" "	48	"	299.00	Elementary & Secondary
14	" "	53	"	273.93	Elementary
15	" "	44	"	210.60	Elementary
16	" "	54	Atenquique	260.71	Incomplete Elementary
17	" "	46	Tuxpan	303.23	Incomplete Elementary
18	---------	55	Atenquique	383.70	Secondary
19	Tuxpan, Jal.	44	Tuxpan	329.94	Elementary
20	Jalisco	61	Atenquique	383.70	Incomplete Elementary

the only link between the factory and the workers and therefore has powers of negotiation and manipulation. The Union is the only institution able to explain to the workers the politics or decisions of the management. It alone can keep workers happy or, on the other hand, create problems for the management. In relation to the workers, the power of the Union's General Secretary is obvious. He has the capacity to promote or impede the promotion of workers within the factory; he is the distributor of the rewards given by the management: such as houses in the factory-town, scholarships, and economic help. He is capable of impeding the entrance of workers' sons to the factory even though there is an internal rule which allows for two sons to take up work at the factory. He can also intervene in the granting of permission to be absent, or in the distribution of overtime, or in the allocation of different shifts. As they have a wider network than the workers themselves they can give recommendations and advice about schools. The workers are conscious of the Union's power and try to maintain good relations with the persons in charge of the portfolios. They even try to create other kinds of links like ficticious kinship by making them <u>compadres</u>.

The leaders try to keep everybody satisfied; workers and management. The relations with the management are always cordial. The first time they could not solve a problem by themselves was in 1974. Until then all the <u>Contratos Colectivos de Trabajo</u> were signed without problems and agreements were reached without difficulty. In 1974 they obtained a salary increase without precedent in the history of the industrial complex, 21% in August and in September another 27% by Presidential recommendation.

After that it is not surprising that in the face of rising costs there was a strike in 1975 when the Government put a limit of 16% on salary increases for that year. Once more in 1976 there was a strike. This one was the longest in the history of the factory, July 3rd to August 3rd. Thus, in these three last years there have been conflicts but these were not due to the actual management but were related to the power given to the Unions as a whole, and even more to the Unions in State enterprises, during the Presidency of Echeverría. This was a period of high inflation and of a politic that wanted to be felt as populist. The salary increases were a means of trying to divert dissatisfaction away from the Government. The economic effects of these moves were subordinated to immediate political benefits.

I have described how the factory started, outlined some of its problems, considered the changes brought by State control of the enterprise and discussed the strength of the Union. I will now focus on the spatial organisation of the factory complex.

The Factory Town

The paper factory has around one thousand employees, 672 blue collar workers, 350 casual workers and 150 white collar employees. Union Forestal, the enterprise in charge of supplying the factory with raw materials, has also one thousand employees. A factory-town was built at the same time as the factory in order to house near the factory the white, and some of the blue, collar workers who needed to be near the factory in case of emergency. The factory-town also houses workers of Union Forestal.

In 1976 the town was made up of 465 houses distributed in two areas that, in their turn, were also subdivided. One area was for the paper mill and was composed of four barrios or quarters and the other was for the Union Forestal, divided into six quarters. In the lower part, nearer to the factory, were located the quarters inhabited by the blue collar workers, in the middle were the white collar employees and technicians and in the higher area the upper personnel, managerial staff and technical personnel. All the houses possessed a water supply, electricity and free maintenance offered by the enterprise. Within the factory a whole department (80 regular workers) dealt with the maintenance of the factory-town. The department was divided into two sections: services and maintenance. Services included water, electricity, cleaning and policing. Maintenance employed skilled masons, carpenters, plumbers, painters and gardeners. The factory-town had all the public services and administrative offices of a normal urban centre: post office, telegraphs, telephones, shopping centre, market, library, church, cinema and restaurants. The enterprise was obliged by law to provide the workers of the factory with an elementary school and a hospital. This was due to the fact that the factory was located further than 7 km. from the nearest urban centre.

In spite of the comfort and amenities, social problems exist in the factory-town. The most important, and felt by the inhabitants, is the lack of social life and the "class division" that exist in the town between "los de arriba y los de abajo" (those who are at the top and those who are at the bottom). They said the life was monotonous, that there was nothing to do. This dissatisfaction is shown by the white collar employees in their

escape towards Guadalajara every weekend, to come back Monday morning. Amongst the blue collar workers the dissatisfaction seems to be related to the social stratification of the town into white collar and blue collar and within the blue collar themselves. Gossip and jealousy impede the integration of the workers' families.* The excessive paternalism of the factory management towards the workers has also impeded spontaneity and responsibility in social life.

But not all the workers lived in the factory-town, the great majority lived in Tuxpan, the city nearest to Atenquique. They lived there in their own houses, most of them in much better circumstances than the rest of the inhabitants of Tuxpan. The factory had established a shop in Tuxpan where the workers could buy basic goods at cost price. They also benefitted from a "rent help bonus" even if they were not renting the house they inhabited. Some of the workers used this "rent help" to pay other expenses, for instance the electricity bill. These better living conditions made the Atenquique workers easier to track down. The two-storey well painted houses were usually theirs. The rest of the population of Tuxpan was well aware of the differences and complained that the high salaries of the workers made things more expensive for them: "everything goes up when the salaries go up" they said.

We will now look at the workers' characteristics and the benefits they receive from their industrial work.

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* For more details and a longer essay on the social problems of this factory-town see Rodríguez, Pastora in de la Peña et al, 1977.

The Workers

Let us remember that the simple fact of having a steady job with a regular income is per se a privilege in this region where the rate of unemployment is so high. This will help us to appreciate what the Atenquique workers have. At the time of the survey (1976), there were 672 regular workers in the factory (including the department in charge of the maintenance of the factory-town). The distribution by departments was as follows:

Electricity department	36
Power	30
Quality Control	37
Maintenance	153
Paper	77
Paper (finishing and shippings)	45
Wood pulp (cooking plant)	47
Wood pulp (wood yard)	32
Wood pulp (recovery)	93
Traffic	42
Town factory maintenance	80

We can see that the number of workers in the maintenance department is the highest. The management explained that this was necessary because the workers were so careless towards their machines and these needed constant repairs. Another explanation is related to the power of the Union and the management's need to maintain good relations with it. Each two years, when the Contrato Colectivo is renegotiated, the Union leaders ask for new jobs for the workers' sons. These new jobs are created "artificially" - i.e. without any real need to increase productivity or to cover new expansions in the factory - in order to meet the demands of the Union leaders. This is also the case in the factory-town maintenance department, where the number of gardeners, painters and masons is well over the requirement.

The demand for jobs is very high, and availability low.

The Personnel Overseer told us that formerly, in the early years of the factory, two or three workers per year left the mill, but presently no one quits his job. In 1974, the first retirements took place and 60 jobs became available. All of them were filled by the sons of workers. The reasons why are easily understandable. The conditions of work were superior to those enjoyed by other industrial workers. Their job security, as we have seen, was almost absolute. Also the minimum salary in the factory was almost twice that of the area, and in addition they received fringe benefits superior to the majority of workers in the country. For instance, the factory paid the fees for social security; they had more paid holidays than that required by State law. They had indemnities for death or incapacity additional to those paid by the social security. The factory supplied the workers with special garments to wear at work three times a year and also gave special training courses to some of the workers. It supported evening centres for literacy; paid scholarships for the workers' children to go on to higher education; it gave financial help in case of grief, gave subsidies for sports and cultural events, kits and uniforms to practise sports, family stocks of food at cost prices, annual bonuses, financial help for family improvement, free transportation from Tuxpan to Atenquique and back for all the workers, for their children if they lived in Atenquique and studied in Tuxpan, and for the Executive Committee of the Union. The houses were free for those who lived in Atenquique, with free water, electricity, and there was financial help to pay the rent for those who lived elsewhere. The enterprise also gave scholarships and stationary to the children in the elementary school. As far as material

benefits were concerned, Atenquique workers were really privileged.

The following tables summarise data contained in the record cards of 672 regular workers. In Table III we can see that 63% of the workers were born in Tuxpan, 19.8% come from the State of Jalisco, including Guadalajara, 3.7% come from the neighbouring states of Michoacan, Colima and Nayarit. Only 2.8% come from other parts of the country. The 66 workers (9.8%) born in Atenquique are all of them Atenquique workers' sons who are starting their careers as industrial workers. These data are missing for five of the workers (0.8%). The great majority of the workers (92.7%) are natives from the Jalisco state, 63% being born in the nearest city to Atenquique, Tuxpan.

Table IV shows the ages of workers: 15.5% are between 17 and 21 years old. All of them are Atenquique workers' sons or very near relatives. All the new jobs that emerge, whether by retirement of senior workers, or demanded by the Union, or because the mill has new needs, are cornered by Atenquique workers. In fact in the Contrato Colectivo de Trabajo there is a clause which states that all new jobs that emerge will be allocated to the sons of the workers, two sons to each one, one at a time and according to seniority. These youngsters are in the lower stratum of salaries and have no seniority. The workers between 40 and 60 years old form the 36.31% of the Atenquique labour force. If we refer to Table VII (Seniority), we can interpret this as a low turnover within the factory. The workers that start out at the mill remain there until retirement (except

THE ATENQUIQUE WORKERS

TABLE III

Place of Birth		
		%
No information	5	0.8
Tuxpan	424	63.0
Guadalajara	20	3.0
Other places in Jalisco	113	16.8
Mich. Colima.	25	3.7
Atenquique	66	9.8
Others	19	2.8
Total	672	99.9

TABLE IV

Age		
		%
No information	1	0.2
17-21	104	15.5
22-30	197	29.3
31-40	97	14.4
41-50	117	17.4
51-60	127	18.9
+60	29	4.3
Total	672	100.00

TABLE V

Place of Residence		
		%
No information	1	0.2
Tuxpan	496	73.8
Atenquique	166	24.7
Cd. Guzmán	9	1.3
Total	672	100.00

TABLE VI

Level of Education		
		%
No information	40	5.9
Illiterate	22	3.3
Incomplete Elementary	192	28.6
Complete Elementary	202	30.0
Incomplete Secondary	35	5.2
Complete Secondary	148	22.0
Preparatoria(pre-University)	13	2.0
Incomplete University	2	0.3
University	0	0.0
Others - Technical College etc.	18	2.7
Total	672	100.0

TABLE VII

Seniority		
		%
Less than 2 years	85	12.7
2 to 5 years	62	9.2
6 to 10 years	195	29.0
11 to 15 years	40	5.9
16 to 20 years	39	5.8
21 to 30 years	248	36.9
More than 30 years	3	0.5
Total	672	100.0

TABLE VIII

Salaries (in Mexican pesos per day)		
		%
Less than 100	103	15.3
100 to 150	223	33.2
151 to 200	125	18.6
201 to 250	74	11.0
251 to 300	63	9.4
301 to 400	74	11.0
More than 400	10	1.5
Total	672	100.00

TABLE IX

Previous Occupation		
		%
No information	589	87.7
Peasant	20	3.0
Peon	17	2.5
Artesano	32	4.8
Others	14	2.0
Total	672	100.0

in the case of accidents). 29 workmen (4.3%) were aged more than 60 years and were to retire very soon. As we have already said, these posts would be occupied by the workers' sons. In Table V the place of residence of the labour force is recorded. The great majority live in Tuxpan (73.8%), in Atenquique 24.7% and only 1.3% in Cd. Guzman, the most important city in the South of Jalisco and 23 kms. in distance from Atenquique.

Table VI refers to the level of education of the Atenquique workers. More than half of the workers (58.6%) have elementary education or less. The case studies showed this to be true for the older workers, but among the younger ones the level of education is increased. For instance, the workers' sons who entered the factory have secondary education, some years of technological college or some years of preparatoria. Not one of the workers has had university education.

Table VII deals with the data about the time the workers have spent in the paper mill. As we can see, the workers who have spent more than 21 years in the factory are the most numerous (248 : 36.9%), and they are followed by a new generation who have been working in the factory six years and more (195 : 29%). The

workers who have been working there less than five years (147 : 21.9%) are the sons of the workers who have recently joined the factory.

Table VIII refers to the salaries received by the workers. The lower salaries are earned by almost half of the workers (48.5%), while the top salaries are received by only 12.5%. This is even more striking if we refer to the Executive Committee of the Union. Almost all the Union leaders are on top salaries, which means that the lower paid (the majority of the workers), are not represented in the Union, as well as some of the departments that make up the factory.

Table IX deals with the data concerning the workers' occupations before entering the paper mill. On 589 of the record cards this kind of data was missing. We only have information concerning a few workers: 5.5% were in agricultural occupations whether as ejidatarios or small landowners, or whether as day labourers (peones); 4.8% were craftsmen and 2% had other occupations. Even if the information is very incomplete we can infer that this was the general pattern of occupations considering that the great majority of the workers were natives of the area and the level of education was low.

Besides the use of workers' record cards to find out their characteristics, 20 case studies and genealogies were undertaken. Two of these cases will be presented later in detail together with their family genealogies. Here I will present the relevant characteristics of the 18 remaining workers.* As we can see in the tables they conform to the characteristics of the majority of

* For more details about the 18 workers interviewed, see appendix I.

the workers. They are in origin mainly from the area, their level of education is quite low, and three of them are illiterate. This can be explained by the fact that they are more than 60 years old. We chose older workers in order to have informants with as many years as possible in industrial work, in order to obtain a clearer picture of the effects of a work-life in industry, on their standards of living, and that of their children who are old enough to have completed an education or to have started work. All our informants have worked in the factory for a long period of time (between 18 and 31 years). Their salaries range from 140 to 350 pesos a day and is pyramidal, with just two workers in the high salaries which reflects faithfully the image of the factory. For these 18 workers we have their previous occupations. Seven of them were landless peasants before entering the paper mill, two were sharecroppers, one had private land, six had a trade (carpenters, masons), one was a muleteer and one a sailor. Four of those who had previous work experience were able to use it in their industrial career, particularly in the case of the ex-sailor who, within two weeks, was promoted to a top job which he kept throughout his industrial career. This was due to his previous experience as a ship's stoker. This did not happen to Don Apolonio (2)* who, after 30 years of experience, cannot be promoted to a senior job due to his lack of education. The labour law requires a complete elementary education to be promoted to senior jobs that involve responsibilities like the running of boilers. The other three cases are of a mason and two former carpenters who are now working in the maintenance department in their own speciality.

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* This number refers to his number in the appendix.

The great majority of the workers I interviewed started working at the time of the construction of the factory, a time when there was a great demand for labour. The recruitment of labour for the factory was organised, according to my informants, in the following way: the Personnel Overseer asked the men working on the construction who were interested in becoming a worker in the factory, then he asked them who knew how to read and write and who was illiterate. The illiterate were put on the lower level of the promotion ladder (unskilled workmen), and the literate ones were chosen for better posts and trained by the sellers of the machinery. So in the recruitment and afterwards in promotion, literacy was an important criterion. However, the two illiterate informants did achieve some promotion, but after 29 years of industrial work they are still in relatively low-level posts and unlikely to be able to go any further before retiring in a few years time. Literacy is also an important asset in getting portfolios in the Union. One informant, who had one year's secondary school, had a post in the Union, and also had the opportunity of regular promotion. If we refer to Table II where we give the Union leaders characteristics, we notice that, without exception, they are literate.

From the above description, we can summarise the characteristics of workers as follows: the great majority of Atenquique workers originate from the area; their background is that of ex-peasants or artisans (i.e. carpenters, masons); their level of education was very low, only a minority completing elementary education and very few with some secondary schooling. The level of education is higher among younger workers, due to the fact that as the sons of Atenquique workers they have had more opportunity

to study.

There is some stratification and division amongst workers in the factory. As I have explained, the pyramid of salaries has a very broad base, with almost half of workers in it. This stratification is reproduced within the Union where the portfolios have been cornered by workers receiving top salaries and belonging to departments where the salaries are higher (i.e. electricity, quality control and, to a lesser extent, factory maintenance). This has led to a "fossilization"of the Union and the Union leaders who always come from the same departments, where the better paid, more specialised jobs are concentrated. That means that the rank and file of the workers are not represented, have never been represented, in the Executive Committee of the Union.

Another important characteristic of the Atenquique workers is the very low, almost non-existent turnover. As a general rule they secure a job within the factory and never quit it. This characteristic and the fact that the Union has succeeded in making an agreement with the management that all new jobs or vacancies (created by retirement) should go to workers' sons and exclusively to them, can lead, as Roxborough suggests (Roxborough, 1981: 90), to the segmentation of the labour market and to the crystallization of a privileged stratum of workers.

Having looked at the general social characteristics of paper mill workers, let us now focus on their life styles, their economic strategies and how they fit into the rest of the population of the area.

Workers' Family Economy, Strategies of Investment and Their Role in the Region

In the introductory chapter, we described the existence of large-scale agricultural and livestock enterprises in addition to the enclave industries which by themselves corner great land extensions. These enterprises, like the enclave industries, employ only a small labour force because the crops they produce (mainly forage) are highly mechanized. Thus, in the South of Jalisco we find that there is little land available due to the monopolisation by these enterprises, and that the demand for labour is very low and inflexible. Furthermore, as the capitalists who created these enterprises came from outside the region, and are directed from outside the region, the profits they make are not reinvested in the area. They do not create additional employment or other industries in the area.

The shortage of land is aggravated by other factors. A survey carried out by the Ministry of Agriculture and Livestock (Secretaria de Agricultura y Ganadería) shows that the existence of latifundia and caciques ("big men") make peasant life even more difficult. Nine per cent of private landowners possess 37% of the land, as against 80% of the ejidatarios who possess 55% of the total area.* As a result of this monopolisation of land and the small number of industries requiring labour, the area has a surplus of labour. The same survey reports a high rate of unemployment: approximately 40% of the peasant population of the area during six months of the year. This implies that those who are lucky enough to find a job in industry try to keep it and defend it

* Estudio Socioeconómico en el Area Forestal de Atenquique, Jalisco. Resultados de la Investigación por muestreo a nivel de productor rural en 19 localidades de 7 municipios. Ciudad Guzmán, Jalisco 1973. (Secretaria de Agricultura y Ganadería SAG).

through all kind of strategies, as we have already seen when discussing the relations between Union and management. This shortage of jobs explains to a certain extent why there is such a low turnover among the industrial workers. It also explains why the Union is always in such good agreement with the management, they have a lot to lose.

This is illustrated by the last strike. As we have already explained, this strike started because the management rejected the request for a salary increase by the workers. The proposed increase was high and was a response to the high increases obtained in previous years during Echeverría's regime. Failing to obtain the increase they wanted, they went on strike, the longest in Atenquique's history. Several workers interviewed during the conflict expressed their concern. They were frightened that the "stubbornness" of the Union leaders (they did not mention the management) would lead to the closing-down of the paper mill. They were conscious that the factory was owned by Government and that it was losing a lot of money each year, and so they were afraid of putting too much pressure on the management in case they decided to close the mill.* This explains in part their apathy and lack of combativeness as well as their detachment from other less lucky workers. This detachment is reinforced by the much higher living conditions that the Atenquique workers can achieve through their industrial career (better houses all with modern conveniences, sometimes cars, other urban properties, electric home appliances, etc.). The external symbols of consumption, as well as their standard of housing, show that the standard of living of factory worker families is superior in terms of urban

* After several days of strike the management came to an agreement and the workers obtained an increase in their salaries, but not as high as they had wanted.

consumption to the living standards of those families whose head is still in 'traditional' economic activities (e.g. agriculture and manual work, such as carpentry and masonry). Holding an industrial job, then, is the main determinant of social differentiation for, as we saw, the Atenquique workers come from the same socio-economic background as the rest of the region's inhabitants. Differentiation is so deep that in some cases interviewees said that they had no relationships with their near relatives who were in traditional occupations. In other cases assistance from, and relationships with, "poor relatives" are limited only to very close relatives, such as parents or an unmarried sister; whereas with uncles, cousins, and even brothers the links are severed. This will be shown in more detail later on in the case studies.

The status position of Atenquique workers sets them apart from the peasant population as a whole. This was illustrated in interviews with Union leaders. They stated that the Atenquique workers consider themselves as a different category, without any link with the peasant sector, in spite of the fact that the great majority of them come from this sector. An example of this division is seen in the conflict which arose in 1976 between the enterprise and woodland proprietors (some are ejidatarios, others small and big landowners), who wanted higher prices for the right to exploit their properties. In this conflict many interests were involved and therefore too complex to explain fully here. However the main issue was as follows. Workers at the paper mill and the Union Forestal (the enterprise which supplies the factory with raw material) were asked to support the demands of the wood owners; but the workers protected their immediate interests by

aligning themselves with the enterprise. The fact that many of the woodland proprietors had very low incomes, and that the exploitation of their properties was monopolised by the paper mill did not awake their solidarity. They told the spokesman for the wood owners that their high salaries were achieved after 30 years of "lucha obrera" (working class struggle). This was a victory for the workers that nobody and nothing was going to take away.

The establishment of the Atenquique mill - and other industries - brought important opportunities for families whose heads worked in these factories. But it caused difficulties in the area: the monopoly of the woodland and the implications of this, that is, the prevention of the emergence of other kinds of industry that might have offered a greater number of jobs, even if lower paid. This group of privileged workers differed obviously from the rest of the region's population. In the previously mentioned document of the Ministry of Agriculture, it is indicated that more than 50% of the inhabitants in the area of influence of the factory received incomes of not more than 10,000 pesos a year, an amount which some of the Atenquique workers can earn in one month. This difference was clearly perceived during the interviews carried out at the workers' homes. The houses were, in 13 of the 16 cases of families living in Tuxpan, owned by the families. They were all of them in good condition and equipped with all modern conveniences. Some of the workers owned a car. Such material advantages make industrial work a very important thing to have and something to hang on to. Hence, turnover is so low, almost non-existent; and there are special clauses in the Contrato Colectivo reserving new jobs for the workers' sons.

The importance of the industrial work is also what makes the Union leaders so powerful: they are the persons who allocate jobs, help in promotion, distribute the fringe benefits, and give recommendations. The Union leaders use this monopoly as a means of controlling workers. Thus, we have workers with very high salaries, who have been working in the paper mill for 20 or 30 years and will not quit their jobs until retirement because, as they put it, "nadie patea el pesebre que le da de comer" (nobody kicks the manger that feeds him).

The strategies of investment adopted by these workers are shaped and limited by the socio-economic structure of the region. Investment is practically reduced to the buying of land - when it is available - or primarily real estate; and the other principal financial commitment is the education of their children. There is also some investment in small-scale trade. From the 20 families I studied, 13 lived solely on the salary they earned at the paper mill; one had a sea-foods restaurant (the ex-sailor who took advantage of his connections with the port of Manzanillo) and six have some land where they grow corn. Three of these land-owning families inherited the land, the other three acquired it in various ways: the wife of one was granted an ejido and presently sows it with the help of her chamacada (children); another head of family bought an hectare of land because, as he said, he wanted to have something to occupy himself (he paid a very high price for it!); he also bought two urban plots in Tuxpan which are now lent to two of his married sons; a third head of family is renting the ejido from his father because the latter is crippled. Investment in agricultural land is low due to its scarcity and high price: the best way to obtain land,

according to informants, is to rent a parcela ejidal. This is illegal, but is practised by several of the Atenquique workers. Lately a new form of investment related to agricultural land has started: the buying of machinery (tractor) and renting it out to ejidatarios or small landowners who do not have enough money to buy their own. I was told that two Atenquique workers were practising this kind of investment.

The single most important investment, however, is the education of children. The amount of money spent on education is even bigger than the amount used to acquire consumption goods. This is brought out clearly in the genealogies when one compares workers' sons with the sons of their brothers who worked outside industry. The results showed that Atenquique workers' sons have better opportunities to achieve high educational levels and tend to find better remunerated jobs outside the region. In fact, youngsters who have graduated in one of the professions (e.g. engineers, medical practitioners, lawyers) do not remain in the Jalisco area since there is no demand for their professions, and they are obliged to migrate to Guadalajara, Colima, Morelia and Mexico city. Education represents for these families the best way to achieve social mobility and one of the best investment possibilities. The general outcome of this for regional development is that education becomes another method of extracting resources - this time human resources - from the area.

In the interviews I also asked workers about their plans for the future, for instance, what they wished to do after retirement. The answers were: buy a plot of land to establish a pig or chicken farm; make one of the front rooms of the house, which

is near a new school, into a small shop where stationery and sweets would be sold; buy a truck to develop a transport business; devote more time to plots they had already acquired. In general, most small businesses were to be established only so as to have "something to do". The economic element did not seem to be the most important aspect. One reason for this is that, in addition to fringe benefits, they retire with a 100% pension of their salaries at the time of retirement, which is increased by 33% of the increase obtained by active workers each time there is a salary increase. At the time of retirement they also receive a lump sum of two months salary.

Concluding Points

The history of the paper mill clearly reveals the increasing control of the central State over the South of Jalisco. Although it was started with regional capital by local and regional inhabitants, it sprang essentially from a national project initiated by the Federal Government. The aim was to provide the country with "basic and necessary" industries as part of an industrialisation strategy. The South of Jalisco was chosen because it offered plentiful raw materials necessary for paper production: water and plenty of pine trees. The pine trees were to be supplied by a newly formed Unidad de Explotación Industrial, which was set up by a Presidential decree, which prohibited other groups from using the raw material, although they might technically still own tracts of woodland. This monopoly had negative effects on existing small-scale enterprises in the area: thus many sawmills and small furniture workshops have been closed and the ejidatarios and peasants of the area, who used to work in

them or to exploit the woodlands to make both ends meet, were deprived of this additional income. This is particularly the case with the resin extractors and the chair-makers of Gomez-Farias, a town near the lake of Zapotlán, who used local materials such as the tule (reeds) from the lake and pine wood. They are now persecuted by the forest guards if they are caught cutting trees in the area. Besides that, each area of the exploitation unit is cut every 17 years, which means that the owners (ejidatarios or private owners) have to wait a long time to receive payment for their timber and the price they receive is relatively low and they are in no position to bargain for a better deal.

The use of an important regional resource, then, is subordinated to the interests of external planning bodies. The product is destined to external markets, and only a small percentage of the local population benefits significantly. Paper mill workers form a privileged group within the Mexican working class, but, on the other hand, they do not form part of the so-called "middle classes". In this sense, they are rather isolated. In addition to this, Atenquique workers themselves are internally divided into the senior best-paid category of workers who have cornered the Union portfolios, and the rank-and-file who have little influence on Union decision making. The existence of a factory-town also contributes to the division of the workers and perhaps also to their inward-looking political attitudes. Everything is planned and done for them in the factory-town. They do not have much influence over town administration, nor do they feel much community responsibility. The existence of the factory-town with all the various services provided by the company also reduces the possibilities for small-scale enterprise.

Another effect of the factory is, as I outlined earlier, that the high salaries of the workers are mostly invested in education rather than local production or enterprise. Educated sons of mill workers migrate in search of better employment opportunities and so the mill, indirectly, extracts human resources from the area.

The history of the Union also highlights the increasing centralization and influence of the Federal Government in the area. The paper mill Union belongs to the most important Central Sindical of the country, the CTM. The latter is affiliated to the political party that has ruled the country for the last 50 years: the Partido Revolucionario Institucional (PRI). The Central Sindical (CTM) has about two million workers in its ranks. The role of the CTM is analysed in Chapter IV dealing with the textile mills. Its control importance will become clearer then. Suffice it here to emphasize that the Union was created by the National Committee without the knowledge and consent of the workers.

Summarizing, we can say that the Atenquique Industrial Complex monopolises a very important regional resource - the coniferous woodland - in order to produce paper, a product destined to satisfy the needs of an extra-regional market. The Complex functions as a State enterprise, whose power-base lies outside the region and whose benefits by and large accrue only to one small sector of the area's population.

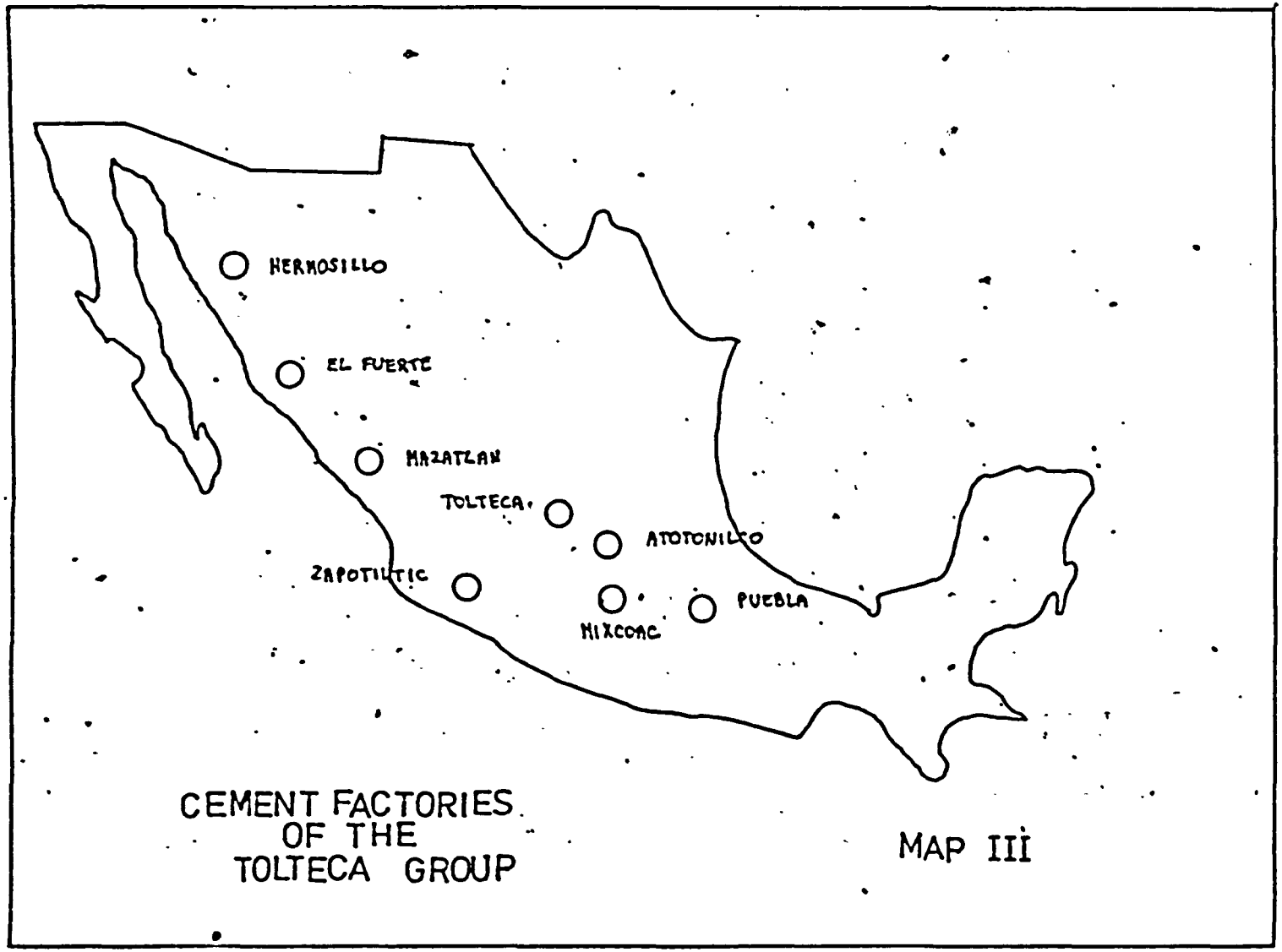
CHAPTER III THE CEMENT PLANT : LA TOLTECA

INTRODUCTION

The cement plant La Tolteca was studied during 1977-78. This plant is located in the South of Jalisco, like Atenquique. It has similarities and differences with the paper mill. These will be brought out in the present chapter in which I present data on its history, organisation, and impact on the area. The research was carried out in the same way and order as that of the paper mill: first I traced the history and organisation of the factory and Union, and then concentrated on documenting workers' life experiences and characteristics.

The Tolteca Group

The Tolteca Group, a subsidiary of the transnational Portland Blue Circle, arrived in Mexico in 1909 and founded its first cement works in Tula, Hidalgo. At present it has eight cement plants (see Map III), concrete factories and shipyards. In total there are 28 subsidiaries. Here we will deal only with one of the cement factories located in the Municipio of Zapotiltic which forms part of the Jalisco Division. This division, with the other three divisions - Center, Pacific and Puebla - forms the Cement Branch of the Tolteca Group. The participation of the Cement Division of the Tolteca Group in national cement production in 1976 (a year of low production) was of 3.1 million tons, which represented approximately 26% of national production. The productive capacity is 13 million tons, and the country's internal consumption is approximately 12 million tons. Production satisfies internal demand and a small amount is exported to the USA and Central America. An important client of Tolteca is the Federal



CEMENT FACTORIES OF THE TOLTECA GROUP

MAP III

Government, which consumes approximately 20% of the cement production of Tolteca.

Location and History

The cement plant is located 4 km. from Zapotiltic, the head town of the Municipio of the same name. The plant is placed within the lands of two ejidos: El Rincón and El Cortijo. The plant was opened in 1969. It resulted from the expansionist politics of the Portland Company and from the desire of the Government of the State of Jalisco to create an industrial estate (corredor industrial) in the southern region of the state.

Before choosing the site for the construction of the factory, the company spent two years in explorations to determine which place was the best. These explorations were carried out without the knowledge of the local or national Government. Investigations were carried out in several places in the South of Jalisco and finally the company in charge of the job determined that the best place was El Rincón de Huescalapa where limestone - the main raw material in the production of cement - was abundant and at surface level. In other places the limestone was found under a layer of rocks and the cost of extraction would have been much higher.

The Rincón of Huescalapa was an ejidal zone and the Legal Department of the Tolteca Company had to negotiate with the national Government for the expropiation of the ejidal lands and later for the sale of these lands to the Tolteca Company itself. The area affected - said the company - was only used by the ejidatarios for cattle raising, and with this argument they acquired it for a low price. On the other hand, the processing

plant itself is located in an area that was once agricultural land - devoted to sugar cane - and they paid a very high price for it. The contract with the Government specified that the company had to restitute this agricultural land by the same surface area of the same quality or twice the surface area if it was of an inferior quality. The surface was approximately 35 has. The zone of exploitation for extraction of the raw material has a surface of 480 has. It is estimated that the factory could be supplied with limestone for a period of about 200 years. The company bought enough land to avoid what has already happened in other places, namely the establishment of other competitor companies. Besides this, the installation of a cement factory is a very high investment and therefore has to be planned over a long term.

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Of the ejidos that surround the cement factory, the most affected was El Cortijo. The plant occupied 480 has. of grass land (agostadero) and 35 has. of irrigated agricultural land. The expropriation was carried out by the Government of the State of Jalisco: the agricultural land was paid for by the cement works at fiscal value and the money deposited in a common fund. With this money the ejidatarios bought land of good quality in the same municipio of Zapotiltic. Nevertheless, the present Comisariado Ejidal of El Cortijo states that the expropriation of communal land was illegal. The Agrarian Law states that expropriations can only be undertaken by agreement of a general assembly of the ejidatarios in question. There were 97 ejidatarios to be affected by the expropriation and in the minutes of the assembly there were only 20 signatures. The ejido El Rincón had 27 has. of communal land expropriated. In addition to the land occupied

by the factory itself and by the area of exploitation, there were plots of ejidatarios in El Rincón that were affected by the construction of the road connecting the factory to the town of Zapotiltic and by the railroad track connecting the factory to the main railroad to Guadalajara. The arrangements with ejidatarios whose plots were affected were different: the cement plant admitted some of them as workers.

The chosen site also had other advantages. It is well supplied with means of communication. It is 4 km. from the Zapotiltic-Cd.Guzmán-Guadalajara road and has also a railway track to Colima and Guadalajara. The strategic localization allows the factory to supply cement to the States of Jalisco, Colima, Sinaloa, Michoacán, Nayarit, Aguascalientes and Zacatecas.

The construction of the plant took two years, at a cost, in 1969, of 300 million pesos. Inhabitants of the area were hired in the construction. Some of these workers were selected later to fill the 147 jobs that the factory was offering when it opened. The factory had made a deal with State Government that they would employ as many workers as possible native to the area and mainly from the affected ejidos. In order to fulfil this requirement, the Tolteca plant asked the Comisariados Ejidales to give the applicants for jobs a document as proof of residence in the ejido. The contract also stated that the factory should give priority to the ejidatarios whose plots had been directly affected. But, as one of the requirements of the factory was that the workers should not be more than 30 years old, affected ejidatarios who were older were able to give their jobs to younger relatives (i.e. to sons or nephews).

At the beginning there was some resistance to working in the cement factory because there were rumours that workers died within a year from tuberculosis. Because of this, the manager of the factory was obliged to ask the Comisariados Ejidales to try to persuade their fellowmen to work in the factory. The Comisariado of El Rincón, however, did not recommend anybody, not even members of his own family; whereas the Comisariado of El Cortijo did recommend people from his own ejido and from Santa Cruz and even some from El Rincón. One informant suggested that the latter Comisariado received money in exchange for recommendations and residence certificates.

At present there are 216 workers in Tolteca (69 jobs have been created since 1969) and they live in nine different places: 60 in Zapotiltic, 34 in El Rincón (the majority of whom did not enter until 1976), 33 in Cd. Guzmán, 29 in Tuxpan, 21 in Vista Hermosa (Santa Cruz), 19 in Tamazula, 8 in El Cortijo, 3 in Huescalapa and 4 in Tecalitlán (I could not find out details on five workers). Unlike Atenquique, Tolteca does not have a factory town. It has only one neighbourhood (colonia-barrio) on the outskirts of Zapotiltic for the provision of housing for white collar personnel who are not native to the area. This barrio consists of 21 houses, playgrounds and gardens. The occupants do not own their properties. Maintenance is paid for by the occupant but if any extensions are necessary, then the company (the owner) will carry them out.

Another difference with Atenquique is the fact that the neighbourhood is inhabited by younger families who live there all the year. Their children are still too young to be studying in

Guadalajara, so the neighbourhood is not abandoned during weekends by the white collar personnel in order to visit family members in Guadalajara. The only exception is the General Manager, whose children are older and studying in Guadalajara. He visits them about every fortnight. This makes the families more integrated and the neighbourhood more lively than the factory-town of Atenquique. Some of the white collar personnel who have been living longer in the area or are native to the region live in the towns near the factory (Zapotiltic, Cd. Guzmán, Tamazula). All the ordinary workers live in the towns surrounding the factory and this fact creates a better integration of workers with other local inhabitants. There is not the striking contrast, as with the Atenquique workers living in Tuxpan, between industrial workers and other occupations. Only in the small hamlet of El Cortijo could I detect such a contrast expressed in terms of envy of industrial workers by the non-industrial workers. This was probably due to the smallness of the hamlet, although the problem was disappearing due to the fact that the industrial workers were moving to bigger places such as Cd. Guzman and Tamazula. Another important difference between Tolteca and Atenquique arises from the fact that the Tolteca workers live in nine different towns and are not concentrated in one nearby town. This fact prevents an inflationary tendency in the prices of commodities which often results from a significant grouping of industrial workers who earn high salaries. As the factory is located at less than seven km. from the nearest town, it was not obliged to build a school or hospital. Hence, workers' children go to the schools located in their towns of residence and are well integrated into the local community.

The Structure of the Tolteca Group

The General Directorship of the Tolteca Group is located in Mexico city. This is for reasons of communication, ease of making contacts, already existing relations, and for market reasons. In fact the most important market for Tolteca is the Federal Government. But, contrary to Atenquique, the centralization does not affect the smooth running of the subsidiaries due to the fact that each company is self-governed and there is an efficient communication system between the subsidiaries and the central company. Besides that, the personnel in the important managerial posts in the General Directorship are responsible and competent.

The General Manager is British, 60 years old, and recognised by all his auxiliaries as a most capable person, accessible and suitable for the job he occupies. He is well-known by everyone; the workers of the cement factory I interviewed knew him and respected him, as was observed when he came to visit the construction work* they were carrying on in the factory. The visits of the directors are frequent. The Tolteca Group has its own plane and they hire a governmental airstrip near Zapotiltic (Tuxpan - Comisión del Sur). This leads to efficient general leadership and maintains good communications and effective supervision over the subsidiaries. The General Manager receives and gives effective information in all fields.

The Structure of the Jalisco Division

The Jalisco Division has a Manager who is in direct contact

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* The cement factory was undergoing expansion during the period of my research.

with the General Manager and with the Advisory Departments in Mexico city. The Divisional Management is located in Guadalajara, Jalisco where there are the offices and the cement storage pits. The Divisional Manager, a Chemical Engineer and Mexican, is in constant contact with the factory in Zapotiltic, but he is also in charge of the sales and general administration. He is recognised by the General Directorship as a competent person. In the factory he is well known and respected by the workers and white collar personnel. He is in permanent contact with the factory Manager. The factory Manager, a Mexican, native to Puebla, is 42 years old and a Chemical Engineer. He has wide experience in cement production. In fact, before joining the Tolteca Group he had experience in another cement factory where he was Shift Chief. Within the Tolteca Group he has had the following jobs: Shift Chief (1960-63), Furnaces Overseer (1963-65), then he had a two years training course in England (1965-67) and on his return was transferred to the Zapotiltic factory as Production Overseer (1968-72) and, later, he became the factory Manager. He has been in this position for four years now. His curriculum vitae shows that he is a well trained man who knows all the steps in the production process and the management of the factory. The factory Manager advises different departments: industrial relations, training department and technical department. The Control Department is run by a Chief Clerk (oficial mayor) who is in charge of the supervision of accounts and administration. During our survey the General Management was starting to use computers in this department.

An important difference emerges from the curricula of the Tolteca employees and those of the Atenquique employees: Tolteca looks for capable white collar personnel. This can be easily noticed if we look closer at the white collar personnel record cards. They are mostly young people with university education in relevant fields. The recruitment of personnel is done by applications which are graded by the Industrial Relations Overseer. For the technical jobs they ask for chemical or mechanical engineering training; they do not ask for particular specializations because the cement production requires a special knowledge not available in the universities. The Training Department is in charge of the preparation of newcomers, and of the blue-collar workers who are due for promotion. This has an advantage: the personnel are trained to deal with specific problems of the Zapotiltic factory and through changing jobs they receive experience and training in the whole process of cement production.

Further evidence that Tolteca is always looking for efficiency amongst its workers is the evaluations it carries out in order to establish the level of salary increases. This is another difference with Atenquique where white collar personnel receive the same increases as the blue-collar workers. In Tolteca they use the following method: the immediate superior, on special sheets of paper, grades the personnel under his supervision. For instance, the Manager evaluates the overseers, and the overseers of each department their auxiliaries. They evaluate efficiency, organisation, performance on the job, and on-going relationships with blue-collar workers and white-collar personnel. Salary increases depend on the results of the evaluation, and employees try to do a good job. Another factor that contributes to the efficient running of the factory is that the structure of the factory tries to

avoid the difficulties and delays in communication between the top of the pyramid (the factory Manager) and the base (the workers). Decisions are quickly made, communication is good and the decisions and policies of the management are quickly known by the workers. In this way there is no misunderstanding and no gossiping or rumours.

The mechanics are as follows: every Tuesday there is an assembly of high level authorities. In this assembly they explain the aims to be reached during the week. Every overseer presents the problems he has and the goals he has to achieve. These are discussed and the results approved. The results and aims are communicated by the person in charge of each department to their subordinates. In spite of this good planning and organisation of the factory, there are problems. The communication channels are not as effective as they should be, there are authority overlaps, and the absenteeism of the blue-collar workers is also an important problem. These difficulties are utilised by both parties - the factory management and the blue-collar workers through the Union - on one hand, to control the workers and, on the other hand, to bargain with the employers. I will provide more details on this in the section about the Union.

The Union

Like the Atenquique workers, the Tolteca ones are members of the principal workers Union in Mexico, the CTM (Confederación de Trabajadores Mexicanos). They form the 55th section of the "Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria del Cemento, Cal Yeso y sus productos similares y conexos de la Republica Mexicana" (National Union of Cement and Limestone Workers). The 55th section

started to function 31 January 1970 and was founded by 147 members. In the workers' opinion, the foundation of the Union was a management movida (swindle). The management gave all the facilities for the creation of the union section: it allocated premises, chairs, etc. The white-collar personnel told us that in fact the management had instigated the formation of the Union. It was easier for the Tolteca Group if all the cement factories depended on the same union. It made it easier to control workers if they were members of the CTM which is well-known to be a "Sindicato Charro".* Thus, when the need arose to create a Union in the Zapotiltic factory, the management asked the National General Secretary of the Cement Union (who was a former worker of another Tolteca factory) to see about the formation of the Union's section. That would avoid the introduction of another kind of union less easy to handle, or to negotiate with. Thus, in order to become a worker in the cement factory the applicants had to join the Union first. These two facts - the section formed by a leader of the National Union and not a factory worker, and affiliation to the CTM without the workers having made this decision - meant that the Union did not emerge from the workers' consciousness of the need to organise in order to defend their rights.

During the first period (1970-72) the founder of the 55th section was dismissed from his post by the workers. He was 'a man of the management' who defended the interests of the factory more that those of the workers. He lasted one year and at his dismissal his deputy took charge of the Union. Nevertheless he

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* The Union that sells, or subordinates, the interests of its members to those of the State and management of the enterprises.

was "re-elected" in the period 1974-76 and completed his term. He was also "elected" delegate to the talks with the management in the period 1976-78. This can be viewed as a sign of the increasing domination of the section by the factory management. In the first period, management was not strong enough to maintain its man in the post but later it was able to have him re-elected to complete his term and be elected as a representative of the workers in the talks between union and management about a revised contract. The history of the Tolteca Union is short (eight years). Nevertheless there are signs that the Union will have a history similar to that of Atenquique: a leadership in the hands of men loyal to the management and belonging to the upper layers of the workforce within the factory, with seniority and the highest salaries. We also find that the names of the leaders start to repeat themselves.

The two leaders of the period 1970-72 were re-elected to the same posts in 1974-76. One of them also had a minor post in the period 1976-78 and is, as well, delegate to the talks with management. We know that the General Secretary of the Union for the period 1972-74 is now a white-collar worker. He is steward of the mechanical department. Becoming a white-collar employee seems to have been a reward for "good behaviour" during his term of office. Several of the workers who are in top positions in the workers' ladder expressed their desire to become white-collar employees and regretted that they could not do so.

In the period 1976-78 something rather odd happened: the General Secretary elected was a chemical auxiliary. This job was a white-collar job until the last revision of the contract.

The secretary of Acción Social (Public Relations) and his deputy were also chemical auxiliaries. Thus, we find in the Executive Committee three former white-collar employees. As deputy of the General Secretary we find one of the founders of the Union and Secretary of Work in the first period (1970-72). As general member (vocal) of the General Secretary we find a former member of the first Executive Committee (1970-72) who continued in the same post (deputy to the General Secretary) in the period 1974-76. The post of Labour Secretary was occupied by a new man. It was his first job in the Executive Committee.

Characteristics of Union Leaders

These characteristics are drawn from the 34 persons who I know have held a post either in the Executive Committee or in the two commissions, or have been elected as representatives in talks with the management. All entered industrial work in the first years of the factory (17 in 1969, 15 in 1970 and one in 1971). The date of entry for one person who later became a white-collar employees was missing, although he occupied a post in the Union in the period 1972-74. The salaries of Union leaders range from 41.69 pesos per hour (the highest) to 27.07 pesos per hour (the lowest).

Representation by departments is as follows:

Quarry	6/29	21%
Raw materials yard	0/10	0%
Mills	2/8	25%
Storage pits and compressors	2/3	67%
Furnace	2/7	29%
Packing	1/7	14%
Laboratory	6/12	50%
Warehouse	1/5	20%
'Miscellany' (i.e. pool of mostly unskilled labour) (amongst this 46 are unskilled workers)	0/61	0%

Mechanical Department	8/53	15%
(nine with the white-collar employee)		
Electrical Department	5/18	28%
Instrumentalist (Electronic brain overseer)	0/3	0%
	33/216	15%

Three departments were not represented: raw materials yard, 'miscellany' and electronic brain overseer. Raw materials yard and 'miscellany' are the departments receiving the lowest salaries. In the 'miscellany' department, we find unskilled workers (46) who have the lowest salaries (17.18 pesos per hour). On the other hand, the electronic brain overseers have the highest salaries (44.09 pesos per hour). Another important observation is the fact that in the laboratory department 50% of the members have had a Union post. This does not happen in other departments.

Of the 216 workers of the Tolteca factory 33 have held Union posts. They have the following characteristics: they entered industrial work in the first years of the factory and were located amongst the highest salaries (the unskilled workers have never had a post in the Executive Committee of the Union). From this we can infer that what has already happened in Atenquique will happen in Tolteca: we will have a "gerontocracy"; the union posts will be monopolised by the most senior and best paid workers.

We must also add that Tolteca Union is well-linked to management. This can be deduced from two facts: the General Secretary in the period 1972-74 is now a white-collar employee. It seems likely that his promotion was a reward for good service and performance. The second fact that shows that the Executive

Committee of the Union is loyal to the management of the factory is that it has allowed former white-collar employees (e.g. chemical auxiliaries) to join the Union and even to gain quick access to main positions in the Executive Committee.

The Workers

The cement factory had, in 1977, 216 workers. The distribution by departments was as follows:

Quarry	29
Operation	59
Mechanics	52
Electricians	18
Electronic brain overseer	3
Unskilled workers	46
Gardeners	2
Cleaners	3
Mason	1
Nurses	3
Total	216

The working conditions are, as in Atenquique, superior to the conditions in other industries. During the eight years that the factory has been producing, there has been a very low turnover. Most of the workers who started working in the first years of the factory are still there and in the interviews all the workers stated that they did not want to leave the factory. Thus we can infer that they will stay in the factory until retirement, like the Atenquique workers. In fact they are already starting to monopolise jobs for their sons. The Union tries to obtain new jobs from the management and to unionize jobs that are considered white collar. In 1977 salaries went from 137.44 pesos per day to 352.72. The lowest salaries were a little higher than those in Atenquique and the top salary was almost one hundred

pesos lower. They also have less fringe benefits than the workers of the paper mill, but they are better off than other industrial workers. They have free transportation to the factory, they have scholarships for their sons, indemnities, industrial clothing, training courses, etc. But they do not have help with rent or family improvement and the factory has no factory-town to house workers, it only has accommodation for some white-collar personnel. Hence Tolteca workers are not as privileged as those of Atenquique, although their salaries are superior to the rest of the inhabitants of the area. The security of having a job and a regular income, as I have already argued, is per se a privilege in a zone where unemployment is so high.

The record cards of the Tolteca workers were not as accurate as those at Atenquique. They lacked information concerning educational level, place of birth, and previous occupation of the workers. The information we have about the age of the workers is summarised in Table I. The percentage of workers between 17-21 years of age is similar to the percentage of this same age group amongst Atenquique workers. Nevertheless, not all young workers are sons of Tolteca workers. Tolteca sons are mostly still too young to start working in the factory. In the last Contrato Colectivo de trabajo a new clause stated that all new jobs would go to workers' sons, but the Tolteca situation is different from Atenquique. Tolteca workers are younger, the majority being between 22 and 40 years of age, thus, for the time being, jobs would go to near relatives (nephews, brothers, etc.). This is due to the fact that the factory has only been working for eight years and the policy had been to try to hire

workers under 30 years of age. They had to change their policy due to the difficulty in finding a skilled labour force less than 30 years old interested in working in the factory. If we look at Table V, concerning age of recruitment, we can see that 19% of the workers recruited were more than 30 years old. Recruitment was initially difficult because people were afraid of contracting illnesses while working in a cement factory.

Table II shows the residences of the workers. Unlike the workers at Atenquique, the Tolteca workers live in nine different towns and villages. The town with the largest proportion of cement factory workers is Zapotiltic, the town nearest to the factory. In El Rincón and El Cortijo, the two ejidos affected by Tolteca, there are 41 Tolteca workers. Some of the ejidatarios affected who obtained employment in the factory have moved from the villages to the bigger cities that provide more conveniences. The rest of the workers live in scattered villages and towns near the factory. The factory provides transportation for all the workers except for four living in Tecalitlán, who drive to the factory in their own cars.

More than half of the workers (65%) have seven or eight years work in the factory, as shown in Table III. The remaining 72 started working in the factory as new jobs were created. The packing department started working after the factory was producing cement. The policy of the factory, in the beginning, was to sell the cement in loose bulk and to transport it to Guadalajara by train, but, due to the unreliability of the Mexican trains, the management was forced to start running a packing section

THE TOLTECA WORKERS

TABLE I

Age		
		%
No information	6	3.0
17-21	29	13.0
22-30	79	37.0
31-40	74	34.0
41-50	28	13.0
Total	216	100.0

TABLE II

Place of Residence		
		%
No information	7	3.0
Tamazula	19	9.0
Zapotiltic	60	28.0
Tuxpan	29	13.0
El Rincón	34	16.0
El Cortiso	7	3.0
Vista Hermosa (Sta.Cruz)	21	10.0
Cd. Guzmán	32	15.0
Tecalitlán	4	2.0
Huescalapa	3	1.0
Total	216	100.0

TABLE III

Seniority		
		%
No information	2	1.0
8 years	59	27.0
7 years	83	38.0
6 years	2	1.0
5 years	3	1.0
4 years	5	3.0
3 years	20	9.0
2 years	10	5.0
1 year	32	15.0
Total	216	100.0

TABLE IV

Salaries		
		%
100-150	55	26.0
151-200	52	27.0
201-250	24	11.0
251-300	38	18.0
301-350	44	20.0
- 350	3	1.0
Total	216	100.0

TABLE V

Age of Recruitment		
		%
No information	6	2.7
16-20	63	29.0
21-25	52	24.0
26-30	53	24.5
31-35	24	11.0
36-40	15	7.0
41-45	2	0.9
46-50	1	0.4
Total	216	100.0

itself. There, the cement is put into bags and sent to its destination in lorries. This new department offered jobs for a few skilled and several unskilled workers.

Table IV summarises the salaries received by Tolteca workers in 1977. In 1977, the lowest salary paid in the cement factory was 137.44 pesos per day as against the highest of 352.72 pesos. Lower salaries are then a little higher than those in Atenquique. Half the workers (50%) are in the two lower salary categories (less than 200 pesos per day), the middle categories are well represented, and the top category has only three members. These three are electronic brain overseers, instrumentistas, who are in charge of the electronic brain that controls the whole activity of the factory.

These statistical data can be complemented with information on the main characteristics of 18 interviewees* (two case studies will be presented in detail in the second part of the thesis). The 18 interviews reveal some interesting differences when compared to paper mill workers. Their educational level is higher that than of the Atenquique workers, the lowest having completed his fourth year of elementary education and the highest a pre-university education (preparatoria) or some years at a technical college. Six of them have finished some secondary schooling. I found no evidence of illiteracy amongst them. This is largely due to the existence of better educational facilities available in the area in recent years. The great majority are natives of the region, like the paper mill. The most striking difference, besides the higher educational level, is the contrast in their occupational careers prior to working

* For more details on the case studies see Appendix II.

in the cement factory. More than half of the Atenquique workers (56%) came from agricultural backgrounds, and 33% had practised trades such as carpentry or masonry. Amongst the Tolteca workers the agricultural background decreases considerably (33%) and some peasants have other skills and knowledge applicable to industrial work. The trades (masons, bakers, painters, electricians, mechanics, drivers) are more important (61%). Two of them,in fact, have had previous industrial experience (ex-workers of sugar and paper mills). Another striking feature emerging from these case studies is the fact that migration (to the USA or to other cities in and outside the region) becomes centrally important for making a living. One of our informants of peasant background had migrated 13 times to the USA during the dead period in agriculture. Others migrated within the country, moving constantly in order to find better-paid jobs. These differences point to a change in the structure of the region. The central Government is now stronger, the educational facilities are a token of that. The considerable number of different occupations and the high level of migration reported by interviewees during their careers indicates a shortage of land for cultivation and the difficulty of sons of peasants to make a living as their fathers had done. In fact migration is an index of the scarcity of jobs in the area: inhabitants are obliged to migrate and to master other skills in order to earn a living. Industrial work in the area is seen by some of them as the great opportunity to return to the South of Jalisco, or to remain in their home towns and to improve their standard of living and that of their families. After eight years of industrial work, patterns of consumption

similar to those of the Atenquique workers are appearing. Workers are now buying houses, improving them, buying domestic electrical appliances, cars and investing also in education for their children. But, as Tolteca workers are younger than Atenquique ones, the fourth generation is not old enough yet to see fully the impact of increased educational facilities. Nevertheless, in the few cases, children were old enough, the educational level was similar to that achieved by Atenquique workers' sons. In their plans for the future, almost all Tolteca workers have in mind as much education as possible for their children.

Concluding Points

The cement plant La Tolteca can be considered an 'enclave' industry. It was created by capital external to the region and nation. The Tolteca Group is a subsidiary of a British cement factory. Cement factories need for their production great quantities of limestone. In order to obtain a steady supply, the cement company negotiated with the Federal Government for the expropriation of the land (used to raise cattle) of several ejidos. The expropriation and negotiations were carried out without the consent of the ejidatarios. Though illegal, this was done with the full consent of the Government. Besides the land for cattle raising, the factory also affected good agricultural land, originally used for growing sugar cane. The decree of inafectabilidad granted to the cement company by the the President, which prevents ejidatarios from reclaiming it, means that these former ejidal lands can only now be exploited by the cement company. This monopoly use of the limestone

deposits prevents the formation of small-scale enterprises made up by ejidatarios. However, small-scale enterprises do exist in other places exploiting limestone and making quick-lime and slaked lime. Some of these small and medium-size enterprises supply the big cement factories with limestone when the latter cannot meet its need for raw material (partly due to go-slow actions by the workers). The supply of raw material is the only part of the process where the electronic brain is redundant. The work is entirely manual, drilling, putting in explosives, blasting the rick, and carrying stones to the conveyor belt. The existence of these small and medium enterprises shows that such enterprises can be viable. But the decree of inafectabilidad prevents the creation of new ones. The land area cornered by the cement factory could have provided enough jobs for several cooperativas ejidales which could have exploited the limestone deposits and supplied the cement factories.

Tolteca, like Atenquique, has its main market outside the area. Its main client is the Federal Government which buys cement for building public works. Tolteca Zapotiltic supplies cement to the States which surround Jalisco. Tolteca is an enterprise which was specifically created to generate profits, whereas Atenquique was established to meet the national need for paper and to promote industrialisation, even if operating at a loss (which in fact it has been over the past eight years or so). This difference between the two factories creates other differences. For instance, the workers of Tolteca have high salaries but they do not have as many fringe benefits as do those of Atenquique. The Union has less power since it is more in the hands of the

management. The management does not need to establish good relations with the Union leaders so as to prevent problems and to preserve jobs. Nevertheless they try to be on good relations with the Union leaders in order to obtain better productivity from workers. To achieve this they allocate leaders with enough power and assets to negotiate with the rest of the Union members. The Union leaders can distribute jobs, bonuses, negotiate leave of absence, impose punishments for non-attendance and offer scholarships and make recommendations. The history and characteristics of the Union leaders seem to be taking the same path as those of Atenquique leading to a monopolisation of the Union portfolios by the best-paid and best-educated workers.

Contrary to Atenquique's workers, the Tolteca labour force does not live in one town. They live in nine different towns, near the factory. This dispersion has the effect of minimizing the differentiation of these workers from the rest of the population. Less obvious status differences within the factory is probably a result of the fact that the factory is only nine years old. It seems likely that, with time, social differentiation will become more apparent. Tolteca workers are already starting to corner all new jobs for their sons. As the Tolteca workers seem to be following the same patterns of investment as their colleagues in Atenquique, their children will be acquiring high education and migrating to cities where they hope to find better employment prospects. Thus, we can say that, in spite of some differences, the cement works and the paper mill have had the same general effects on the area: they extract material and human resources and they do not create enough jobs or other industries to retain the labour force.

CHAPTER IV A CONTRASTING CASE : THE TEXTILE MILLS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I analyse the emergence and development of the textile mills located in Guadalajara. Study of the development of this industry can help in the understanding of the processes of regional development. The history of these factories clearly reveals the major forces that gave shape to the region: those resulting from the historical pattern of self-development of Jalisco and those which emerged from the economic and political centralization policies of the national State.

These textile mills constitute a contrasting case to the two enclave industries examined in Chapters II and III. To start with, they were created in the middle of the nineteenth century and are therefore more than a hundred years old. Hence they are old industries and considered to be "traditional" (as opposed to "modern" industries producing cement, paper, steel, oil, electricity and automobiles). Their products are directed to high-risk markets dependent upon the purchasing power of the lower and middle classes. Cement and paper, as we have seen, are destined for high income markets and for the consumption by the Federal Government. 25% of the paper produced by Atenquique is purchased by EYENSA that makes the containers for PEMEX (Petroleos Mexicanos, the national oil company). 26% of the cement produced by Tolteca is consumed in Public Works projects carried out by the Federal Government.

The textile mills cannot afford an "expensive" labour force and wages are kept low. In comparison with other industries,

textile mill workers receive much lower salaries, and fewer fringe benefits (sometimes not even those required by law). The textile mills were in fact more profitable prior to the production of labour laws designed to protect workers. They over-exploited the labour force which consisted mainly of women and children. At this time the working hours and wages were arbitrary. However, once the workers and Government started to press for improvement of working conditions and wages, then the owners stopped investing in the improvement of the factories and their decline began. They were soon left behind by their competitors who modernized equipment and increased worker productivity by reducing the number of workers. Nowadays the labour law states that women must receive the same salaries as men, but this does not stop them being sacked and replaced by machines or by men who are said to be more productive (i.e. they do not get pregnant, do not have to stay at home when the children are ill and lose working days).

The Guadalajara textile industry, I suggest, can be usefully compared to small-scale enterprise in spite of the size of its factories. It is an industry that achieves profitability by over-exploiting its labour force and by using labour-intensive technology. In other parts of Mexico, the big textile mills are disappearing and the owners are re-introducing the system called "maquila" (putting-out system). Spinning machines or looms are installed in the workers' houses and these are operated by the family who inhabits that house. The owner provides the raw materials. This system is officially against Mexican law but we know that in Puebla it functions like this. The owner, using this system, avoids paying for premises or making social security

contributions. Thus we have an industry quite different from the enclave industries we described earlier. In this chapter I aim to describe the history, development and decline of these textile mills. An historical perspective assists in understanding the previous structural conditions of the region and indicates the types of change resulting from State penetration and the loss of relative autonomy for Guadalajara and its region.

The chapter firstly presents an overview of the history of the textile industry in Mexico. This part describes the historical context in which the textile industry - the first attempt to industrialise the country - was created. I then focus upon the history of the textile industry in Guadalajara from its foundation to the present. This section will be divided into historical periods. The first covers the period from the foundation of the textile mills by local criollos until their acquisition by immigrant Frenchmen. After this I examine the role of these Frenchmen in Guadalajara and its region who were working in commerce and industry. The third period relates to the Porfiriato, the fourth, to the Mexican Revolution, the fifth, to the crisis of 1929, the sixth to the Second World War, and the last covers the period from the 1950's up to the present-day. This periodization provides an account of the transformation of these "self-contained industrial colonies" into textile mills which now form part of a municipio in Guadalajara.

Another section looks at the organisation of the mills and the characteristics of workers engaged in the production process. Finally, I outline the history of the labour movement in the textile mills. This history spans the early beginnings of the

Mexican labour movement up to the present-day.

The Textile Industry in Mexico

The textile industry in Mexico was founded in a context not very favourable for industrial development. This period offered no security due to political instability (fights between conservatives and liberals), the loss of Texas to the USA in 1846 (an important loss for the textile industry because Texas produced cotton and was also a huge potential market), the invasión extranjera when Britain, France and Spain attempted to claim back loans given to the Mexican Government, after which the French set up a "Second Empire" under Maximiliano. The final triumph of the liberals in 1856 headed by Juárez established the basis for the pattern of industrial development that was to take place during the Porfiriato. The special privileges of the dominant classes were abolished, banks were created and railways and telegraphs were installed. During this whole period, this complex of internal problems severely limited foreign investment. This allowed the textile industry to develop and remain almost totally in the hands of Mexican entrepreneurs. Between 1850 and 1870, in spite of political instability and foreign competition, the Mexican textile industry improved its volume of production and its spinning and printing processes.

Another factor affecting the development of the textile industry in Mexico has been the scarcity or abundance of raw material. In the middle of the nineteenth century cotton was grown near Hermosillo for use in the small factories of Sonora. In 1840, it started to be cultivated in La Laguna, and in the States of Coahuila and Durango. The Apache and Comanche tribes

had devastated these regions during the Mexican-North American war and they took a long time to recover. It was not until the Porfirista period when the railway arrived in this region that it gained importance as a supplier of raw material. Before the Porfiriato, Veracruz was the main cotton supplier. In 1845, four-fifths of cotton used in Mexico came from this region. But by 1876 the situation was different: the coastal region was a minor producer and the most important States for cotton production were: Colima, Chihuahua, Durango, Guerrero, Hidalgo, Sinaloa, Tamaulipas, Michoacán, Nuevo León.
By the middle of the Porfiriato period, the region of the Nazas river (La Laguna) was the most important cotton source for the country's textile mills, though import of raw material from Texas and New Orleans continued. During the Porfiriato, there were several attempts to encourage the creation of textile industries under the stimulus of the new railways, telegraphs and banks, and under the protection afforded to industry by the State for dealing with protests by the labour force, resulting from the displacement of labour through the use of modern machinery, or from the often low salaries and poor working conditions.

In 1910, 90% of Mexican cotton was produced in La Laguna. The production satisfied regional demand but the big textile mills of Veracruz and Puebla bought the main part of the cotton they used from foreign producers in the USA. Nevertheless, the Porfiriato represented an important period of expansion for the textile industry. The stability of the Government and the official support given helped with its development. The changes within the industry itself, particularly the introduction of

hydroelectric power and automatic machinery, were factors even more important for the progress of the industry (Keremitsis, 197 pp.90-193). However, limitations on the expansion of consumption industries like the textile industry became apparent during the Porfiriato. Mexico was predominantly a rural country, demographic growth was small and these products were mainly meant for the working class whose purchasing power was limited. It was long after that, during the Second World War, that the situation changed radically: cotton and cotton fabrics started to acquire importance as exports and, due to the war, the internal market (and a part of the foreign market) was opened up to Mexican products.

The Textile Industry in Guadalajara

This brief overview of the development of the textile industry in Mexico, taken mainly from Keremitsis' book (Keremitsis: 1973) and from the paper by González (González: 1977),gives us a frame within which to place the emergence of the Guadalajara textile mills. I am inclined to believe that the emergence of these factories would not have been possible without help from the State (through protective legislation). Nevertheless these textile enterprises were founded in a period when the Mexican State was still in the process of consolidation and, for this reason, the textile enterprises were obliged to follow the "Industrial Colony" model described by Terradas (1978 : passim) and to provide themselves with their own infrastructure (see below: Organisation of the Mills).

The first mill to be founded was called "La Escoba". Barcena tells us (Barcena: 1959) that the mill was founded in 1841 by a

company made up by Olasagarre, Escandón and Prieto. The Escandón family* were members of the first group of famous industrialists in the first period of Juárez. The factory had its own dam and was worked by hydraulic power. The factory started to operate in June 1843. During its early history, the mill passed through the hands of different companies. In 1880 (the date of Barcena's book) it was owned by Fernández del Valle (two brothers) and Barrón. The mill had spinning and weaving departments, and all the machines were operated by women. The cotton came from Colima, Autlán, Tepic and the border States. The number of workers in that year was almost 300. The product was sold in Jalisco and other parts of the country.

La Prosperidad Jaliscience (later called Atemajac) was another textile mill, founded at the same time as La Escoba (Barcena, ibid: 153-154). The factory was located 3 kms. to the north of Guadalajara. It was founded by a company presided over by Palomar** in 1841. The construction of the mill was started

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* The Escandón brothers (Manuel and Antonio) were the most important of the new group of industrialists in the first period of Juárez. They invested in mines, and the textile industry in Jalisco and Veracruz. They participated in the negotiations for the construction of the Veracruz-Mexico City railway. They had connections with foreign interests (mainly French). After 1869 they sold their interest in the railways to the British and became important bankers (Keremitsis, 1973: 61-62).

** Don Jose Palomar y Rueda (1807-1873) was born in La Magdalena, Jalisco, from a poor family. His father died when he was ten years old and he migrated with his mother and brother to Guadalajara. He started working when he was 17 in two different stores as an apprentice. He achieved promotion rapidly and in 1834 he married the daughter of his third employer. He succeeded in establishing a big department store and in accumulating great capital (one of the most important in Jalisco). He then created textile and paper mills in Guadalajara and was the promoter of several improvements to the city (telegraph and other material improvements). He was appointed alderman of the city in 1850-51 and deputy to the Congress of the Union. In 1853 he was the Governor of the State of Jalisco. (Source: Document prepared by a worker of the Atemajac mill for the 50th anniversary of the Union).

in October the same year. The factory had spinning and weaving departments, and sold its products in Jalisco, Michoacan, Guanajuato, Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí. In 1880, the mill had its own foundry where spare parts were manufactured. Information found in the Archivo Historico de Jalisco (AHJ) shows that in 1877 the factory had 218 workers.

The third mill to be established in the Guadalajara area was La Experiencia. Barcena (ibid: 154) tells us that the factory was founded in 1851 by a company (Olassagarre & Sotero Prieto). A little later it passed into the hands of Escandón and then into the hands of the Martínez Negrete*. During this time the mill produced exclusively yarns. The workers comprised only 15 men, 30 women and 5 children. The yarns were of good quality.

The fourth factory to be founded in Guadalajara was Rio Blanco. This was located to the north of Guadalajara (Zapopan). Originally it had been established in El Salto in July 1866 but about ten years later, in October 1876, it was moved to the place called Rio Blanco (Zapopan). It produced only yarn and pabilo. The owners were, according to Barcena, the Lowere brothers.

By 1887 the panorama was as follows (according to a list of the factories we found in the AHJ (Ramo Fomento, paquete 1887):

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* Don Franciso Martínez Negrete y Ortiz Rosas (1797-1874) was born in Spain, and arrived in Guadalajara as vice-consul for Spain in 1822. He founded a textile mill, and an electric plant. He created a Tramway Company (hauled by animals). He invested in a hacienda in 1871, and had several Bureau de Change and had interests in commerce with the Orient through the San Blas Harbour to the Veracruz Harbour. (Source: Personajes Ilustres de Jalisco by Ramon Mata Torres, Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara y Camara Nacional de Comercio de Guadalajara, 1978).

Name of the mill	Owner	Products
La Escoba	Fernández del Valle	Yarns and cotton fabrics
Rio Blanco	Fernández del Valle	Yarns
Prosperidad Jaliscience	Junta Directiva de Atemajac	Yarns and cotton fabrics
La Experiencia	Martínez Negrete	Yarns

La Escoba and La Prosperidad Jaliscience were considered first class mills because they had weaving departments and Rio Blanco and La Experiencia as second class mills. By 1890, the Fernández del Valle family had acquired the ownership of La Experiencia as they had married the heirs of Martínez Negrete. La Prosperidad Jaliscience also came into the hands of the Fernández del Valle family. Palomar and Gómez had sold it to Martínez Negrete. It was then inherited indirectly by the Fernández del Valle brothers through their wives. By 1890 the four factories were owned by the same family, as the Fernández del Valle had also acquired the Rio Blanco. Subsequently, a fifth mill was founded. This is first mentioned in the AHJ (Ramo Fomento paquete 1889). In that document there is mention of a man, Bermejillo, who sought permission to build a railway to link his factory to the central line. The name of the mill was Rio Grande and it was located in El Salto (municipality near Guadalajara).

The Guadalajara area, then, had by the 1890's five textile mills which produced cotton yarns and fabrics. The products were apparently of good quality. Barcena tells us that the yarns produced in La Experiencia were awarded prizes in several exhibitions throughout the country (Barcena, 1880: pp. 155). The raw material (cotton) for these factories came mostly from the USA, although some cotton produced in Nayarit was also used. When

Nayarit (Séptimo cantón) split from the Estado de Jalisco, this had repercussions on the development of the textile industry in Jalisco. In the AHJ I encountered a document clearly stating the importance of the cotton coming from the USA (Ramo Fomento, paquete 1892). In this document, the brothers Fernández del Valle ask the Government to intervene because they were importing from San Antonio, Texas, to Guadalajara, some 950 bales of cotton, and they had not yet arrived. Four of the factories (La Escoba, Atemajac, Rio Blanco and La Experiencia) were brought to a standstill and more than 2000 families were without a wage.

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, the Mexican Government has been trying to improve the conditions for cotton production. In the Coleccion de Leyes y Decretos (AHJ) there is a decree dated 8 March 1849 (p.282 the Decree 112) which states that lands devoted to cotton production will be exempt taxes. There were also some steps taken to protect the regional market and local products. In the same Collection (Volume no. 9 for years 1883-83 p.565) I found a document recording that cotton cloth produced in Atemajac and La Escoba was also exempt taxes.

During this period, the AHJ documents several requests for exemption from taxes to establish textile mills in the region and in the capital city. These requests continued to be made until 1910. The already-established big mills also requested this privilege. In the AHJ (Ramo Fomento, year 1899) there is a request signed by Manuel Fernández del Valle asking for exemption from taxes of any kind for 20 years, for his yarn factory La Experiencia.

We do not know if all the requests were accepted or if all the mills were founded, but the fact that requests were so numerous demonstrates that the Porfirista period was a period favourable to industrial development.

Returning to the four mills owned by the Fernández del Valle brothers, we find that in 1899 the brothers put the shares of the factories on the market. The reason remains unknown. These, however, were acquired by a group of Frenchmen, owners of department stores in Guadalajara.

The Role Played by Frenchmen in Commerce and Industry

In an interesting paper, Jean Meyer (1980) provides important information about French migration and about their activities in the places of the country where they settled. Meyer explains that, since the eighteenth century, a number of Frenchmen and families had migrated to Mexico. They came, as did French products, through Spain. Most of the migrants were from skilled professions: soldiers, medical practitioners, hairdressers, printers, cooks, craftsmen, smiths, artists, carvers, etc. The migration flow increased during the second half of the nineteenth century (Meyer, 1980: p.5). The migration flow came also from America when Louisiana came into the hands of the Spaniards. Migration also increased during the Napoleonic Wars. The group of Frenchmen who bought the textile mills were native to Barcelonnette in the Basses Alps. According to Meyer's data, the first Barcelonnettes arrived in Mexico in 1821 and this marked a new period in French migration, linked to commerce in the first phase, and to industry and banking in later phases (ibid., p.6). The Barcelonnettes were able to make big

fortunes in commerce in Mexico. Meyer says that two of them returned to their home towns in 1845, each with a fortune of 250,000 gold francs, and that this helped to accelerate migration. Workers, teachers, intellectuals, craftsmen, migrated in significant numbers and, to this day, have influenced the Mexican socialist movement (ibid, p.9).* In 1845, there were 1,800 Frenchmen registered, and according to this list (that only records about one third of the real number of migrants) they practised the following occupations:

Occupations in 1845

Occupations	Number
Workers[1]	65
Craftsmen[2]	465
Peasants	123
Traders (dealers, merchants)	470
Employees	180
Hairdressers	107
Foodstuffs[3]	200
Professionals[4]	130
Servants	30
Without occupation	30

[1] miners, mechanics, textile workers, smelters, glaziers

[2] cabinet makers, carpenters, smiths, jewellers, goldsmiths, gilders, painters, tanners, engravers, coopers

[3] restaurant and rural hotel owners, cooks, confectioners, bakers, distillers, brewers

[4] pharmacists, medical practitioners, teachers, engineers, architects

As we can see in the above table, the merchants and their employees were as numerous as the workers and peasants together. The great majority were penniless when they arrived in Mexico (ibid., pp.12-14). Meyer says that he could not be confident

* For an account of the importance of socialist ideas in the labour movement in Guadalajara, see the section on the Union in this chapter.

that this was the case with merchants, but Rivière D'Arc (1977) says in her paper on Guadalajara, referring to the French merchants who were established in Guadalajara, that

> the beginning was difficult. Starting from zero, the French organised mule caravans that went across, in a first phase, the State of Jalisco and later across the neighbouring States. They were loaded with different products from Europe and North America. Their stock ranged from needles to clothes, household utensils, etc. (p.93)

Thus, commercial activities among the French colony in Mexico increased significantly from the French intervention* up to the First World War (Meyer, 1980: p.18). All the natives from Barcelonnette were devoted to it (and they represented 60% of all French migrants).

The economic success of the Barcelonnettes was, according to Meyer, (ibid., p.23) clear from 1870 when they took advantage of the French intervention, monopolising the supply of foodstuffs to the army. They had a monopoly over this and made great fortunes. They were very successful in eradicating their Mexican, Spanish and German competitors.

The main part of the profits made in Mexico (Meyer, 1980: p.26) remained in the country, only a fraction being exported to France. The Barcelonnette family became known as "criollos nuevos" and did not return to France, except for short holidays. They integrated themselves into Mexican high society and played a very important role in the economic development of the Porfiriato period.

The Barcelonnettes became established in Guadalajara, founded several business, including the first department stores

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* French Intervention: see Historical Appendix: year 1862.

in the area. Rivière d'Arc (1977: 93) tells us that one of these department stores, "Las Fabricas de Francia", has been functioning on a large scale from 1886. Each of these big stores had sales routes: they had divided the region between themselves, covering the north east, the Pacific, and the neighbouring states of Jalisco.

However, these stores were not the first attempt at investment made by the Barcelonnettes in the area. In an interesting document Jaime Olveda (Olveda, 1981) tells us of the activities of some Frenchmen in the production of rebozos (shawls). In the middle of the nineteenth century, the manufacture of shawls was one of the main jobs for the inhabitants of Guadalajara, as well as tanning, hat-making and weaving cotton and wool. All these products were manufactured in small workshops and production satisfied local demand and those of the neighbouring states (Sinaloa, Sonora, Durango and Zacatecas mainly (Olveda, 1981: 94). This panorama of small family workshops changed when some Frenchmen stated to invest in the production of shawls (ibid: 95). Many of these small workshops started to disappear, labour relations were modified and there was a tendency for the larger units to monopolize production. The first investment in shawl production was made in 1844. From then on, the French started monopolizing this production (ibid: 96). By the end of 1840, the shawl factory owned by a group of French inhabitants of Guadalajara was formalised (ibid: 97). The creation of these factories (the shawl factory and the textile mills) resulted in the virtual disappearance of family workshops. This generated discontent among craftsmen, resulting in the first "unionist" organisations and the first strikes. This is dealt with in the section describing the union-

ist movements in Guadalajara.

Frenchmen in Guadalajara, then, were doing well and were involved in several kinds of businesses, particularly commerce and manufacturing. Their interest in production, Meyer tells us (1980: 31), started after 1880 when they were already the owners of the principal commercial houses. They consolidated their monopoly in cloth distribution and then they launched themselves into the textile industry with the aim of controlling that as well. In 1889 (Meyer, ibid., p.32) the 'small' and 'big' French merchants and traders formed the Compañia Industrial de Orizaba, S.A. (CIDOSA) in Veracruz to develop a large textile mill with more than 3,000 workers. It was a big success and more French capital was attracted to the textile industry, which resulted in the purchase of old factories and the founding of new ones. Within a few years, the owners of the main commercial firms were also the owners of the main textile mills. Former owners of the textile mills were obliged to sell their factories or to modernise significantly in order to compete. To obtain capital they were obliged to sell the shares of their factories to sociedades anónimas(limited liability company) in which the French were the main shareholders. The four factories of Guadalajara suffered the same fate. The shares put on the market by the Fernández del Valle brothers were acquired by the owners of department stores of Guadalajara. These stores sold both wholesale and retail products, and both imported and national goods. The imported products came mainly from France, Switzerland, England, Czechoslovakia, USA, Italy and Germany. As Rivière d'Arc tells us (1977: 93) "Each department store had its own preferred area: the Mazatlán Coast, the highlands of Jalisco, Aguascalientes and

Guanajuato or the north east."

Then, on February 22 1900, these same Frenchmen created the Compañia Industrial de Guadalajara S.A. (CIJARA). Their explicit aim was to monopolise the production of fabrics for sale in their department stores. And once they acquired the shares of this company they started making important changes and improvements. For example, in the Colección de Leyes y Decretos, Vol.XIX, (1899-1900) there is a decree (826 of May 7 1900) which stated that the company was allowed exemption from taxes for ten years for the capital intended for the construction and setting up of lighting and electrical power. The electrical plant provided electricity to the two mills (La Experiencia and Atemajac) and to the paper mill (El Batán). It also supplied electricity to the city of Guadalajara. The company also set up an electrical railway between La Experiencia, Atemajac and El Batán. The Government did not help in its construction but allowed the company a 20 year tax exemption. In 1907, the company sold the rights of the railway to another company (AHJ, Ramo Fomento 1900).

These data indicate that, from the beginning, the company had two sources of income: the production of fabrics and the sale of electricity. The establishment of the electrical plants for the production of fabrics was an expensive investment, but in the long term it allowed them to greatly reduce the costs of production.

The company campaigned to ensure a regular water supply. Water was essential for the production of power and for the dying and cleaning processes. In the AHJ (Colección de Leyes y Decretos,

tomo XX (1900-1902) p.23 Decreto 913 (September 29 1900)) we learn that there was an agreement reached between the Executive of the State and the Company about the use of the water of the San Juan river. The company was allowed to use the water of this river instead of the water of the source "Los Colonos" which was to be reserved for use as drinking water for Guadalajara city. Moreover the company was exempt from taxes over the use of this water.

The total production of the mills was channelled through the stores or distributed via travelling salesmen. The distribution was wholesale and retail and covered a considerable geographical area. By acquiring the textile mills, the Frenchmen assured goods for their stores and, being the direct distributors for the mills, they could offer competitive prices. In 1905 the silver standard changed to the gold which produced a big increase in the cost of imports. This did not affect the French tradesmen because their stores were now supplied by national products, which they produced themselves. On the other hand, this resulted, in the long term, in a decrease in profits for these mills since the owners did not make any technical improvements: imported machinery was expensive. The change to the gold standard made the raw material (cotton) and the anilines more expensive too. Despite these problems, the businesses were generally successful and the company was able to expand. In 1902 (AHJ, Ramo Fomento) the Compañia Industrial de Guadalajara, SA. asked for a tax exemption on the establishment of its department of printing in the Atemajac mill.

French traders had a strong influence on the urban development of Guadalajara, even before acquiring the textile mills.

They participated in formulating the demands and agreements to bring the railway from Mexico to Guadalajara and establish connections with Colima and the ports on the Pacific ocean (AHJ, Ramo Fomento, 1887). On acquiring the factories, they sought to link the factories with the city: they campaigned for an urban railway (tranvía or tramway), for an electrical lighting system, and later for telephones, a telegraph office and a system of buses serving the city and the surrounding area.

The company did not suffer any major changes until 1907 when "La Escoba" was closed down and the machinery and workers transferred to "La Experiencia" and "Rio Blanco". Then, in 1909, the Atemajac mill caught fire and was completely destroyed, except for the houses of the workers and management. Following this, the workers were transferred to La Experiencia while the mill was being repaired.

Brief mention should also be made of the fifth textile mill which existed near Guadalajara: Rio Grande, which was settled in El Salto. As I have pointed out before, we do not know the precise origins of this mill, but it appears to have been founded by Spanish traders. The AHJ makes reference to this mill in 1889. It is recorded as belonging to José Ma. Bermejillo. According to Keremitsis (ibid., pp.153-154), in 1899 the Compañia Industrial Manufacturera was founded by Spanish traders with whom some French traders afterwards united. They bought several textile mills (Hercules, San Antonio and La Purísima in Queretaro, Rio Grande and La Sultana in Jalisco). My informants told me that, by 1907, the company was entirely in the hands of Frenchmen. The shares of the Spaniards had been acquired by the owners of a department store in Guadalajara

and some of the shareholders of Cijara also acquired shares in the Compañia Industrial Manufacturea. Thus, between 1889 and 1907, the more important textile mills of the country were firmly in the hands of the French. Meyer (1980: pp.32-33) describes the activities of Frenchmen in the industrial field. In 1889 they formed the Compañia Industrial de Orizaba (CIDOSA) which included the factory of Rio Blanco with more than 3,000 workers. In 1896, they established the Compañia Industrial Veracruzana (Santa Rosa mill). In 1897 the Compañia Industrial de San Antonio Abad took control over several factories near Mexico city and factories in the Region of Puebla. After gaining monopoly control over the cotton mills, the French started to move into the wool industry. They also invested in other industries: tobacco, paper, glass, publishing, electricity, steel, explosives and metalurgy. Meyer says (1980: p.33) that in 1910 the French possessed 55% of all the foreign industrial investments. The French also had great influence over banking. The success of the French colony in Mexico attracted the interest of banks and French capitalists in France. Some of this capital, together with that accumulated in Mexico, went to found several banks in Mexico (Meyer, ibid.: pp.34-35).

The decision to buy mills arose out of the need to look for alternative means of expansion. Having control over the factories, they could offer better prices and thus counteract the disastrous effect that the change over to the gold standard was having upon the import business. In addition to its protectionist policies, the State was imposing heavy taxes on the imported goods, which created the need to seek out more profitable investments. The French had channels of distribution already

established through their own department stores and their network of travelling salesmen. The department stores provided for local markets and the intermediaries who bought in bulk re-sold in less secure markets. The stores kept for themselves the best and more secure markets. They were able to channel the whole of their factory production through these department stores; and gradually they extended their region of influence even as far as Mexico city and the south east of the Republic.

Another advantage of this coupling of stores and mills was the possibility of using some of the returns from the factory to invest in other branches (e.g. real estate, banking, insurance companies). The stores bought fabrics from the mills at cost price. The mills did not make any profit (which had an added alternative advantage of justifying the low salaries paid to the workers), whilst the stores made huge profits. Yet, in the final analysis, the investment capital came from the same pocket.

The Period 1900-1910

This period is characterised by the consolidation of the mills and their expansion, which took advantage of the impetus and support that the Porfirista regime gave to the French colony. In the Atemajac factory they established a department of printing with rollers. La Escoba was closed down in 1907, and the workers and equipment were transferred to La Experiencia and Rio Blanco. The Compañia Industrial Manufacturera was concentrated, in 1910, in two factories: one in Queretaro (Hércules) and the other at Rio Grande in Jalisco (also known as El Salto).

During this period the existence of a more reliable and efficient means of transport was of vital importance for the factories. It was not until the Porfiriato, that the manufacturers could be reasonably sure that their products would be able to reach their destination. The coming of the railway made it possible for the French-owned factories and stores to convey their products with greater speed and security, and so conquer larger markets. The railway reduced transport costs making the products more available to the low stratum of the population. Nevertheless, in the long term, this adversely affected the Guadalajara mills because it allowed the entry of cheaper products from Mexico city or Puebla. Another problem for the owners of the mills was the increasing assertiveness of the workers. In Guadalajara, there existed from 1850, a Sociedad de Artesanos de Guadalajara, founded on the ideas of the French utopian socialism of Proudhon and Fourier. The Sociedad was sparked off in response to the negative impact the mills had on the family workshops.

The Sociedad succeeded in organising an important number of workers. In 1850 they organised a strike in the shawl factory (Olvera, 1981: 98), but it was put to an end very quickly by the intervention of the political authorities. Nevertheless, this event marked the beginning of worker organisation. Later, the factories of Orizaba also had problems, although during the Porfiriato workers' organisations were suppressed and the authorities gave full support to the patrons/owners. After the Porfiriato the workers started to organise more effectively. These union movements will be treated in more detail later on in this chapter. In spite of these problems, however, the period 1900-1910 was

favourable to the textile industry. The AHJ documents the expansion of the textile industry at this time (see the list in Appendix IV). Keremitsis (ibid.: 156-157) indicates that the period 1895-1905 was the period of greatest expansion. It was the period during which "....the great corporations swallowed up the small mills and huge quantities of money were spent in the modernization of the plants...." One of the most important improvements was the establishment of hydroelectric power, since the use of electricity cheapened the costs of production.

The Period of the Mexican Revolution

The revolutionary period severely impeded industrial growth. The market for textiles was greatly reduced and the supply of raw material became very difficult. There was also an increase in union movements (see below). This period also marks the extinction of the small producers of cotton thread and fabric and consequently the disappearance of the hand-weavers who had reappeared in the shadow of the big mills with the opening up of the market during Pax Porfiriana. In this fight the small-scale enterprises lost out, but the big industries also endured losses during the revolution and, again, during La Cristiada. The factories and factory towns suffered several raids by revolutionaries and Cristero gangs who stole their fabrics. During the Cristiada, the company was boycotted by the general population because the French owners declined to give help to the Cristeros. This boycott created a major problem of excess production and the company had to reduce working days to three per week. This decision, however, created unrest among the workers. This led

to a strike organised by the Union. Management and workers could not agree and so they decided to open the floodgates of the water tanks with the aim of bringing work to a standstill. Finally, the strike was ended through the intervention of the Governor of the State of Jalisco. He ordered that the floodgates be closed and so the strike came to an end. The Governor's intervention followed an order from Mexico City, after which the company sued the Union. These events only strengthened the resolve of the Union. The Union succeeded in obtaining some additional rights for workers: for instance, it got agreement from the management to recognise workers of the first shift as regular workers (obreros de planta), and obtained the right to receive pay on days when the workers were unable to work due to breakdowns in the machinery, or in the power plant.

During this period, the State started to increase its strength and control over private enterprise. At the same time the owners (patrones) started to lose a little of their control over the workers, with the result that workers gained some benefits, even though they were divided among themselves. It was a period during which the Centrales Sindicales were trying to attract as many members as they could. I will look at this period in somewhat more detail when I discuss the Union (see below).

The Crisis of 1929

The world crisis of 1929 had the effect of improving the situation of Mexican industry. Lack of imports led to the need to substitute for them. Thus the textile industry in Guadalajara was obliged to reorganise itself so as to satisfy the recently increased internal demand due to the lack of imported yarns

and fabrics. The factories improved their installations and equipment to achieve higher productivity. The company made improvements and changes in the hydroelectric plants: new turbines were fitted in 1938 in La Experiencia. In this same year, the company decided to close down the Rio Blanco mill. The workers and the machinery were absorbed by La Experiencia. Nevertheless, the French management did not seize upon all the advantages they could have from the crisis. The process of spinning and weaving was not improved in any significant way. The management had other investment priorities in real estate and banks.

The Second World War

This international conjuncture meant, as did the 1929 crisis, an expansion of the internal market. But there were not the facilities to buy modern machinery or power plants because the countries producing these technologies were at war. The management could not therefore make good use of the increased profits to modernize their mills. They did, however, seize the opportunity to increase textile production and make them work at full capacity. Some of the product was exported abroad but the majority of the mills preferred to give priority to the internal market. It was only after the war that the mills started a process of modernization. This had a boomerang effect because after the war the internal market contracted again. Atemajac and La Experiencia started their modernization in 1946. The heaviest investment was made in a power plant which would provide energy to both mills, and in modern looms which would allow an increase in productivity with less labour. This modernization implied

heavy capital investment, carried out at a time when the internal market, even if expanding, did not increase enough to absorb production. To be able to use synthetic fibres the mills would have to incur other expenses in order to modernize and change part of the machinery. But they were apparently not prepared to face this new investment. These problems - overdue modernization, the invasion of man-made fibres, the increase in the competitiveness of other mills - were aggravated by the increasingly tough bargaining by the Union. In 1937 the Liga de Empleados de Comercio e Industria (Commerce and Industry Employees League) affiliated to the Federación de Trabajadores de Jalisco (Jalisco Workers Federation), which was a part of the CTM, was created. This league challenged the French department stores by striking. This happened on several occasions when demands for salary increases were not met. The French gradually became tired of this situation and so decided to close down their stores. Thus, by 1949, several of the most important and older stores were closed. This took place after several unsuccessful attempts to weaken the "Employees Union" by dividing the big departmental stores into specialized stores and by separating the wholesale from the retail departments. These attempts were unsuccessful because the Centrales Sindicales (CTM and CROM) were fighting between themselves to attract as many members as possible.

The loss of the stores meant the loss of commercialization channels, consolidated a long time ago. The French were obliged to create new ones, this time through the factories. By losing the stores that were the intermediaries in commercialization, French entrepreneurs lost an important source of income. In the following years the owners made some effort to continue with the

mills by producing high quality goods. In order to produce these kinds of goods they imported Pima cotton from Peru (a cotton with long fibres). With this kind of cotton they were able to produce poplins of high quality. Another attempt was to offer finished products to the customers: in order to do this they made use of family-based workshops for the sewing of shirts, sheets and pillowcases. This worked as a type of putting-out system. It was during this period that cotton became an important export crop. The war and the rise in prices that it produced stimulated cotton production, and since then cotton has become one of the main export products. Its production has satisfied internal demand since the 1936-40 depression.

The Present : The Decline

After the war the mills could not face the debts they had incurred. This situation deteriorated through the years and in the 1970's the textile mills changed hands once more. The most important reason for these failures, I believe, was that the type of modernizations carried out by the French was not sufficient to compete with cheaper products manufactured in Mexico City, or Puebla and Orizaba. In these other mills technological improvements were made in order to cheapen the products by reducing the costs by means of increased productivity and by cutting back on the number of workers involved. Apart from this, the French shareholders of the company had interests other than the textile mills, which were often more profitable. In the end, then, they gave up the textile mills.

These textile mills were purchased by a consortium of textile factories owned by Spaniards. They acquired them with the idea of producing low quality fabrics for a mass market. They did not plan to make technological improvement. In fact, they also neglected the factories. They were frequently without raw material or spare parts for the machinery. Relations with the labour force deteriorated. The management failed to pay salaries, often with delays of two or three weeks, and some suspended fringe benefits. As a consequence of these irregularities, in 1974, the workers officially declared their intention to strike (during this conflict both Union sections were united, section three and section nine were working together), which by law can then be adjourned for up to two years to allow negotiations with the management. The management were always promising better conditions and using delaying tactics, for the threat of a strike is actually very advantageous to the factory owners. When a factory is officially called to strike by its workers, the workers have priority over the other creditors for the assets of the factory. But, in 1976, the situation deteriorated even more. Inflation, the 23% increase in salaries ordered as an emergency by President Echeverría, and the increase in the price of cotton, obliged the factory to impose a shortening of the working week to three days. This was another reason for calling a strike. The workers did not want to see the factory closed as they wished to protect their work. But by declaring the strike they had prevented the factory from being sold. The strike was declared on December 16th 1976; negotiations between Union and management lasted until September 27th 1977. Finally, the authorities decided to grant the factory to the workers

because management was unable to pay their wage and fringe benefits accumulated throughout the negotiations. However, the final handing over of the factory to the workers was not completed until November 23rd. This was due to the fact that management was still fighting for the ownership of the grounds and premises, although in the end they failed in their claims and the workers won the case. In December they pulled down the strike flags and tried to start working with what was inside the mills. But they soon realised that to function as a workers' cooperative is rather difficult, and so they agreed to look for new owners. Their first choice was Nafinsa.* Nafinsa had already taken over Rio Grande (El Salto) and it was doing very well, so the workers of Atemajac and La Experiencia thought that it would be fairly easy to convince Nafinsa to take the two factories. But Nafinsa refused because during the Echeverría regime they had already acquired several factories which were bankrupt. The policy of the new president (López Portillo) was to stop using State money to keep industries running. His preference was to give advantageous conditions to private owners. Thus, the Government helped the workers to find a new owner. Finally, the factory was sold to a group of three Lebanese brothers who were already in the textile industry. The Government gave several facilities to the Lebanese group: some of the debts (those related to State institutions such as the Health Service and Housing) were cancelled. They were required to pay only 80% of the salaries owed to the workers. They were given special permission to import used machinery to modernize the textile mills, and were able to sell the fabrics stored in the

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* Nafinsa: Nacional Financicia, S.A. It is the bank of the State. As we have seen in Atenquique it started as the Fondo de Fomento Industrial. It chiefly gives loans to industry.

warehouses of the mills. On the other hand, they had to preserve jobs and agree to modernize the mills.

Several problems arose due to the fact that the agreement was not properly fulfilled by the Lebanese brothers. The first problem developed when the new management decided to sell the Atemajac mill because it was worth more as urban real estate than as a textile factory. The workers opposed this decision but, nevertheless, the grounds where the director's house was built and the orchard were sold to a commercial company to build a department store. But the mill kept working. The modernization which was due to be finished in the first six months of the new management was behind schedule. In the other mill, La Experiencia, a new wing had been built and the setting up of used machinery bought in Germany was in process. The planning of the premises was badly organised and they were obliged to stop the production process several times because the air conditioning was not fitted properly and the threads broke very easily. Apart from that, not all the looms were working because the local technicians were not prepared to assemble them, and, since they were second-hand, there were no German technicians available as there would have been if the machinery had been new. In 1979, the two factories were under new Lebanese management and the name of the company was: Fábricas Textiles Mexicanas de Desarrollo Industrial, S.A. They now produce fabrics with a mixture of cotton and man-made fibres, the main products being towels, fabrics for sheets, and printed and plain fabrics.

The History of the Fifth Factory: Rio Grande (or El Salto)

I have already pointed out that, by 1907, the Compañia Industrial Manufacturera was in the hands of Frenchmen. In 1910 this company was composed of two factories: Hercules in Queretaro and El Salto (Rio Grande) in Guadalajara.

The history of El Salto is more or less the same as the history of the other mills. In 1946, due to the differing political views among the French shareholders with respect to the Second World War, they split up. The shareholders of Cijara remained with La Experiencia, Atemajac and Hercules; and those of La Compania Industrial Manufacturera remained with El Salto and received some money with which to found a new textile factory, Compañia Textil Jaliscience (Ciatex). This last one and El Salto became the Nacional Textil Manufacturera (Natex). In 1967 Ciatex was transferred to El Salto and integrated into the mill. This factory specialized in the production of heavy fabrics like denim, duck and gabardine.

This factory did not carry out any important modernization until after the Second World War. This was because the Union would not allow the management to reduce the number of workers by modernizing technology. But, in 1946, the leaders "agreed" with some bribes from the management to the modernization and the mill reduced its labour force from 1,200 to 300 workers.* The improvements were done with a loan from Nafinsa. As I have

* The reduction of the labour force occurred in two steps. First in the preparation and spinning departments. The new machinery could supply enough spun yarn to satisfy the demand of the new set of looms. The new spinning machines were more self-contained (one machine did several tasks by itself) and they needed only a small number of workers. The second step of modernization was carried out in the weaving department. The old machinery was very demanding of labour; for instance, one weaver could take care of at the most four looms when he was very experienced and skilled. With the new machinery a weaver was able to run 20 to 30 looms.

already argued, this modernization came too late; after the war the internal market shrank and the mill was not able to pay back the loan. The management tried to diversify production and even to manufacture finished products. For example, they set up a "ready-to-wear trousers factory". But the market for denim trousers was already cornered by two big factories. So in the end, this led to bankruptcy, and in 1973 the company was taken over by Nafinsa. In the hands of Nafinsa, the company went in for a programme of complete modernization in order to achieve international competitiveness for its products. The factory is now specializing in the production of denim, corduroy and gabardine. In 1977, 85% of its production was exported to Japan, USA, Canada, Germany, Benelux, France, Madagascar and Australia. In 1979, 30% was exported to Germany and Canada, 45% was sold to ready-made factories and the rest was sold retail. The new management under Nafinsa also reduced the labour involved in the production process and there will be further reductions, since the new machinery they were waiting for requires less labour. The management planned to select the best workers to run this machinery. The aim of the mill is to produce fabrics for export.

The Organisation of the Mills

As I have already indicated, the textile mills were organised as industrial colonies.* The owners of the factories provided

* These industrial colonies are similar to the ones studied by Terradas (1978: 39-57) in Spain. But the reasons to settle these textile mills as industrial colonies differed in each case. In the Spanish case, they settled them as self-contained colonies of production in rural areas to avoid the problems of the cities (labour movements etc.). On the other hand, the Mexican industrial colonies have the approval and support of the State but the necessary infrastructure has to be supplied by the owners of the factories. The mills were located near the cities, if possible, but most important was the proximity to sources of power and water. Most of the factories in Mexico were located near rivers. The willingness of the State to promote industrialisation was demonstrated by the establishment in the 1830's of the Banco de Avío by Lucas Alamán, which was supposed to give loans for industrialisation.

their workers with housing facilities; in fact a whole town was created around the premises of the mills. These towns were completed bit by bit at the request of the workers. Thus, a market, an elementary school, and a church, were built during the early years. In La Experiencia the town was surrounded by a wall and there was a door which was closed at 10 o'clock in the evening. The town was patrolled by a night watchman. There was a police force inside the factory which was under the management's orders. The management also had moral power over the workers and their families. Within the town grounds a tienda de raya was located from which all the workers were forced to buy as they were paid with tokens to exchange in that shop. The factories also owned land. One of my informants told me that the lands of the Atemajac mill were cultivated by sharecroppers who grew corn. The corn was given in maquila (putting-out system) to an oil factory and the starch was returned to the factory to be used in the preparation of the warp and in the finishing of the cloth. These lands were lost during the agrarian revolution, when the lands became ejidos. The mills worked as a company town for a long period of time, but by the 1950's the management started selling houses to the workers and by the time the French management sold the factory to the Spanish consortium (1970), all the workers were owning their own houses. Some of them even managed to buy two or three houses and now rented them to new workers or workers who did not have houses (who were young and not married when the houses were sold by the company).

Thus, during their history the mills passed from being self-contained units (with their own rules and police force) to being integrated into the municipality where they were located.

Presently Atemajac and La Experiencia depend on the Zapopán municipality. Since 1935-36 (after the agrarian reform) workers have held official posts in municipal administration: (Municipal Presidents, Secretaries of the Town Council, Municipal Treasurer, Local Deputy, Alderman of the Zapopan Council) and also the main posts in the Atemajac town (see Appendix V).

Historically the factories have had an important influence on the development of the area. We have already seen how the first management and later the French made improvements to the factory and thereby also improved the conditions of the town and those of the neighbouring city: they introduced better means of transport (railway and tramway) and better communication (telephone and telegraph). But unlike the industries studied in the South of Jalisco, these mills did not bring to their workers the same economic well-being as Tolteca or Atenquique workers. This issue is explored in the next chapter through the presentation of four case studies of textile workers.

Before that, we must examine the internal structure of the factories and discuss the social characteristics of the workers that we interviewed. Unfortunately I was not able to obtain the record cards of the workers in these factories, so I will deal with only 20 interviewees.

The Internal Structure

Let us take Atemajac as the main example because it is the most complete mill; La Experiencia is organised in the same way but it lacks the finishing department. The finishing of the cloth produced by La Experiencia is done in Atemajac or in another mill, owned by the Lebanese brothers, which is in Ocotlán, a town near

Guadalajara. Atemajac also used to finish the cloth produced in the mill called Hércules.

Department of "batientes".

In this department the process of shaking the cotton bales is carried out. The work is done by one worker in each shift. The department works two shifts but when there is a need for more production it works three, the third shift employing casual workers. The minimum a worker is expected to do by shift is 120 rollers. If he succeeds in producing more he gets a bonus.

Carding department

The rollers of cotton (lap: loose and thick blanked) are fed onto the cards, which are rotating cylinders covered in wire spikes which remove any remaining tangles or dirt and turn out the cotton as a sliver (mecha) (thick rope of loose cotton). The sliver then goes through three different machines (estiradores, veloces) which twist it and make it into a "roving" (manageable yarn still thick and soft). The roving then goes to the spinning room where it is made by the spinning frames into a thin and resistent yarn ready to be woven.

In the department of weaving preparation the yarn is put onto big beams where it is starched (sizing) to increase its resistance. After this process, the big beams containing the warp are set in the loom and the weaving process can then start. After the cloth is woven it goes into a finishing process which includes bleaching, burling and dying, measuring and packing. (For a very good description of the textile process and life of textile workers see Harevan and Langenback, 1978 and Liddigton and Morris 1978.)

The Workers

The number of workers involved in the process has varied greatly over the history of the factories. For instance, La Experiencia had as many as 1,200 workers at one period of its existence. The reduction in numbers was due to modernization in the factory and during the period of fieldwork, to the strike and to the fact that during the year that the factory was closed, several machines in the printing and dying and finishing departments were damaged and needed to be cleaned and repaired before commencing work. When all the departments have opened again the number of workers will increase.

The number of women employed in the mills has also been reduced a lot. In fact, they will disappear from the process, since the policy of the factories is to eliminate the female labour force. In La Experiencia the number of women is 24, and they work on spinning preparation, spinning, weaving preparation, and weaving, and also as toilet cleaners. Presently, La Experiencia is working three shifts and has 338 regular workers and 222 casual workers (planta y eventuales). The 24 women are all working as regular workers.

In the first shift the distribution and number of workers is as follows:

Spinning preparation	10
Spinning	20
Weaving preparation	23
Weaving	47
Workshop mechanics and maintenance	15
Electrical plant	27
	142

In the second and third shifts the numbers diminish as some of the maintenance staff do not work and sometimes also the spinning preparation and spinning department do not work at full capacity.

The modernization carried out by the French management was spread out at intervals. The modernization which displaced the greatest number of workers was carried out in 1956-58, in an attempt to recover after the loss of the department stores and to try to be more competitive. This modernization concerned mainly the weaving department. The weaving department had 600 old looms. One worker can normally look after only two or three of these. The new looms needed only one worker for each 20 looms. Before the modernization in the weaving department 200 weavers used to work by shift, after modernization only 47 were needed.

The spinning department also had some modernization. During this period (1956-58) the number of workers on just one kind of machine diminished from 39 to 6. This kind of modernization affected mainly the women workers, as the departments where it was carried out were the ones where more women worked.

In the old days La Experiencia had a labour force of 1,200 workers (men and women). At the time of fieldwork, the new management wanted to increase the number of workers to more or less 600 in the new and old factories. According to the Personnel Officer the workers are 90% native from the area (Atemajac, El Batan, La Experiencia and Guadalajara). At present (1979) the raw material used in the manufacture of the cloth and towels produced in La Experiencia and Atemajac is polyester, viscose and cotton. The cotton comes from La Laguna, the man-made fibres

from a factory in Ocotlán owned by the same Lebanese brothers, and from Celanese Mexicana, also located in Ocotlán, which is the biggest producer of man-made fibres in the country.

The number of workers involved in the production process in Atemajac is smaller than in La Experiencia. The weaving department is smaller (43 workers in all), and the departments of finishing, printing and dying are not now working. Even if smaller in its weaving department, this factory was considered to be the most important of the factories which made up the Compañia Industrial of Guadalajara. It used to finish cloth produced in La Experiencia and Hércules. When all the departments are working again, the number of workers involved in the factory will increase to almost 400. New looms were being installed and they were waiting for new spinning machines to arrive.

Casual workers are very important. They allow the factory to reduce or to increase their output without having to pay regular workers. Casual workers can be hired or fired at will. The management is not obliged to pay fringe benefits or to pay Social Security to this kind of worker while they are not working. The contracts are made for 28 days. The casual workers are controlled and provided by the Union.

As I was unable to get access to the record cards of the workers, I will deal with the 20 workers interviewed and try to describe the characteristics of the present labour force. I tried to make the picture more complete by also interviewing the personnel chief of the factory and the Union leader. According to them, our interviewees represent faithfully the characteristics of the workers of the mills.

We interviewed 11 workers in the Atemajac mill and nine from La Experiencia mill. All of them were living in ex-factory town houses where they had lived almost from the time they first started to work in the mills. Some of these houses had undergone some improvements, like a second floor, or mosaic floors, but in general they are more modest than the Atenquique or Toleca workers' houses. Some of the workers do not live in this town surrounding the factory any more,as they have been moved to houses built by the Infonavit (a State agency charged with the promotion and betterment of the workers' housing conditions) in two different settlements near the mills.

The workers interviewed were 95% from the State of Jalisco (from this 95%, 60% were from close by the mills). Half of them were over 70 years of age and the other half were between 50 and 69 years old. The educational level was low; 90% had not completed elementary education, only two of them having gone through the complete elementary school. None of them has further education. Interviewing older workers enabled me to detect the kinds of changes undergone during a lifetime of industrial work. As some of my informants were over 70 years of age, I was able to cover a fifth generation in the genealogies. This fifth generation (contemporaneous of the fourth generation in the other factories) allowed us to make comparisons of the educational levels attained by the children of each one of the groups of industrial workers. Being aware of the problem of women working in the textile industry and of the management policy to get rid of them, I decided to include in the sample several cases of women to see what they thought of the policies, their work in the factory and their future prospects outside industrial work. So, 11 of our inter-

viewees are women.

A general characteristic is that almost all my informants started to work in the mills when they were quite young (11 to 14 years old). Some of them came from families which had been working in the textile industry for a long time, in some cases for three generations. Among the women an almost general characteristic was that they were fired during the modernization of 1956. Whether or not they were spinners or weavers, they were dismissed from their work. Only one of the women of our sample retired voluntarily because she was "feeling too tired". She retired in 1954, two years before the modernization. Three others of our female informants remained in the factories until the 1970's (Doña Cristina (6), Doña María de Jesus (12) and Doña Isaura (14)) (see Appendix for further details). They were very competent in their work. Doña Cristina and Doña Isaura were spinners in charge of the production of the thinner thread in the factory. Doña María de Jesus was a very skilled weaver. She did not like to work with the new looms. She said the work was more exerting and more automated. It did not demand as many skills as before and it was more tiring.

According to my informants, more than 150 women were fired in the years of the modernization, between 1956-58. All of them worked in the spinning and weaving departments. From my sample, those who are now retired live badly with their retirement pensions. As will be demonstrated in the case studies to be presented in the next chapter, only one of my informants had another source of income (i.e. renting out a house). The rest of them had no other means of living, except their pensions. Some women, how-

ever, were able to do some sewing at home and another had a very small business selling, in front of her house, chocolates, chewing gum, and sweets to the children of the neighbourhood. Another informant played in a musical group and taught music, another migrated to the USA for a period of six years. In the next chapter I analyse four case studies of textile workers. These depict graphically the life situations and achievements of the textile workers and contrast them with case studies drawn from the paper and cement factories.

But before dealing with the case studies, I want to look at the history of the labour movement within the textile mills. This will give us some clues to understanding the different ways in which the labour force has been controlled and how the types and sources of control have changed in accordance with the broader structural changes taking place in the region.

The Labour Movement in Guadalajara

The labour movement emerged early in Guadalajara. In an interesting article, Jaime Olveda (Olveda, 1981: 97-98) refers to the early spread (1849) of the ideas of French utopian socialism and to the publishing of a newspaper called "El Socialista" (The Socialist) where the ideas of Proudhon and Fourier were popularised. He reports that as a result of these ideas the Sociedad de Artesanos de Guadalajara was created in 1856 (The Society of Craftsmen of Guadalajara). This was the answer of small producers to the blows of industrialization. In fact, the textile mill of Atemajac had destroyed the small workshops where spinning and weaving used to be done. The monopolisation by the French of the manufacture of rebozos (shawls) had the

effect of destroying the independent small producer of these shawls. The French had created in 1849 a mill with more than 500 workers. It was in this factory that the first strike in Mexico happened (Basurto, 1975: 95, quoted in Olveda: 99). The strike was aimed at demanding economic improvements. It in no way challenged the class structure, although it did encourage a certain class consciousness. This first movement was ended by the intervention of the political chief of Guadalajara (Olveda: 97-99).

According to the records in the Archivo Histórico de Jalisco, workers associations have been in existence since 1874. In 1876 a Círculo de Obreros established itself in Guadalajara. These were more mutual benefit or cooperativist societies than unionist in the strict sense, structured on political and ideological principles. The unionist movements started later, a little after the Porfiriato. In order to describe the unionist movement in the Guadalajara textile mills I will use the labour history of one of the factories: La Experiencia. This example, I think, is more or less representative of the development of the unionist movements in the other factories. For the period comprising 1912 to 1950 I use the data from a book edited by the factory management to commemorate one hundred years of the factory's existence.* For the period 1950 to 1979, I draw upon the data collected in interviews with workers and Union leaders.

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* Cien Años de Activad Social en la Fábrica La Experiencia. Fábrica La Experiencia, Jalisco, México 1851-1951. By Sr. Jesus Martínez Vallejo, Sr. Enrique Francisco Camarena M., Sr. Pbro. Donaciano M. Camacho.

The first unionist movement in the mill was in 1912. The movement was promoted by two workers coming from Mexico City. They wanted to found a union organisation in order to support the first wage list approved by a convention of management and workers in Mexico City. A group of women workers responded to this appeal and they invited all their fellow-workers. It was a cautious movement due to the political conditions of the time. Only 19 people came at the first call, but the first committee was elected. This was composed solely of women. Later this association was backed by other workers and a second meeting was organised. This second meeting was attended by 250 workers. A new executive committee was elected. On this occasion the principal posts were taken by men and the women were named as members (vocales). The committee and the members of the Union worked and succeeded in attracting more workers who wished to become members. Soon after this they elected and sent one of the members to Mexico City to register the Union. This Union was registered and recognised without difficulty. The main preoccupation of the organisation was with the improvement of workers' wages. They were able to achieve some improvement due to the creation of the first List of Minimum Uniform Salaries for textile mills in the Mexican Republic. But, soon after, they were dissolved because of internal problems.

On the 15th July 1912 a unionist organisation called "Casa del Obrero Mundial" was founded in Mexico City. It had offices in Guadalajara. Some of the members of this organisation were assigned the task of forming a Union in La Experiencia. The idea spread quickly amid the workers, but the organisation was soon repudiated by the Government due to its 'anarchist' ideology.

The Union stopped functioning in La Experiencia in 1916. Later, the management dismissed one by one all the workers who had participated in it. In the following years there was no unionist organisation in the factory. When a problem arose, the workers would name a commission of workers to discuss the matter with the management.

Unionist activity restarted in 1922 when some of the workers were organised to form the "Catholic Union of the Experiencia" with 122 members. This organisation was largely due to the efforts of the factory priest who invited another priest from Guadalajara to assist. The latter had already been involved in the formation of Catholic Unions.* The first committee was elected on the 22nd May 1922 and was recognised as a member of the Workers National Catholic Confederation. The 'spiritual' director of this Union was the priest of the factory, and its slogan was "Justice and Charity". The Union was frequently visited by the National Executive. The Union functioned for five years. Its main activities were to name commissions of workers headed by the priest to discuss different problems with the management. In 1922, the management informed the workers that their wages were to go down by 25%. One of the workers wanted to take advantage of the workers' discontent to start a strike, but another worker convinced him to try to organise another Union with free workers arguing that the actual Union (the Catholic one) was not able to do anything in spite of having the majority of the workers as members. Once he found some supporters he established contact with leaders of CROM. He

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* The aim of these Catholic Unions was the same as that described in Mandel (1963: 10-11): to oppose and combat the increasing influence of the left-wing in the unionist movement.

invited them to lead a meeting at which the Workers' Union of La Experiencia was to be constituted. The slogan of this Union was "For the common good". The executive committee had as a leader a woman: María Arcelia Díaz.* This Union was a part of CROM and the latter a member of the Federación de Agrupaciones Obreras de Jalisco.

This Union started working for the economic improvement of the workers and to do this it needed to have control over the whole labour force and yet the Catholic Union was still there. The new Union had difficulties in attracting workers because the speeches they made "....offended the religious feelings of the workers....." However, in 1923 a struggle between the two Unions started. The Catholic Union was not very effective in fighting for workers' rights, since it was largely controlled by the management: one of its principal leaders was in fact a white-collar employee. The members of the CROM succeeded in sacking him from the factory. The Catholic Union started losing strength and so the leaders decided to affiliate to the Confederación Obrera de Jalisco so that the Union would have Government support and a legal charter. This affiliation was carried out without the approval of all the workers, which naturally created a great deal of dissatisfaction.

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* María Arcelia Díaz (1894-1939) was born in the Hacienda de La Escoba, Zapopan. From childhood she worked in the textile mill of La Escoba, then in Rio Blanco. From the beginning she was aware of the vexations that the workers had to suffer. When she went to work in La Experiencia she started pioneering in the labour movement. She also worked in Puebla. She founded, in 1924, a feminist association. (Source: Personajes Ilustres de Jalisco, by Ramon Mata Torres, Ayuntamiento de Guadalajara y Camara Nacional de Comercio de Guadalajara, 1978).

On the 4th February 1926 the "Workers Union of La Experiencia" was registered (CROM) and on the 18th April 1926 the "Independent Workers Union". After registration, the two Unions worked simultaneously. The Union affiliated to the CROM sent deputies to the Convention of 1926-27 where an increase in the workers' wages of a 100% was achieved.

In April 1927, there was trouble in the core of the Independent Union. The workers who had not agreed with the affiliation of the Catholic Union to the Confederación Obrera de Jalisco wanted to disown their membership and affiliate instead to the Confederation Fraternal de Agrupaciones Obreras de Jalisco which was being formed. The workers realised that this was only a fight among Centrales Sindicales for the control of groups and wanted their Union to be independent. But this independence lasted for only a short time because they needed more effective support and so they affiliated once again to the Confederación Obrera de Jalisco. In 1928 the idea of having a single Union started to make headway in the minds of the workers as they realised that being divided lessened their negotiating power. In July 1928 the Sindicato Unico de Obreros de la Fábrica La Experiencia was created and a committee, comprised of members of the two Unions, was elected. This new Union was registered and affiliated to the Confederación Obrera de Jalisco. This Union tried to attract all the workers of the factory as members. Those who did not become members were dismissed in July 1928. There were 120 workers who were sacked from the mill (this happened in another of the factories, Rio Grande, in 1925 and the workers came to work in La Experiencia. Some of them were once more sacked from the mill). Once unified, the Union started

working on its internal regulations. The commission in charge of doing so finished its work in September 1928 and three workers, elected by the Union members, discussed with the general manager of the company, and the mill director, the terms of the Contrato de Trabajo. This contract was signed by the two parties on 12th September 1928. The Union Committees were expected to function for six months.

In the period from July to December 1929 the enterprise, claiming excess of production, reduced the working week to three days in La Experiencia, and to five days in Atemajac. This step was considered by the workers of La Experiencia as an injustice because the two factories belonged to the same company. The Union asked the management for the same number of working days in both mills. As an agreement could not be reached, the workers decided to open the floodgates of the water reservoirs and fly the strike flag in the factory entrance. This step was endorsed by the General Secretary of the Confederación Obrera de Jalisco. Following this, the company took legal proceedings in Mexico City against the Union. The Governor of Jalisco (Margarito Rámirez) came himself to the factory and ordered the floodgates to be closed and called for an end to the strike. An agreement was reached and both factories were to work for four days a week. The leaders of the strike were suspended from their jobs for a period of three months.

It was during this period that the Executive Committee of the Union had to obtain recognition of the workers of the first shift as regular workers. To be recognized as a regular worker was a great advance in workers' rights: regular workers could not be sacked arbitrarily and they were entitled to regular and

permanent work. The Union succeeded in persuading the management to give them certificates that guaranteed the right to a permanent job. But the workers of other shifts were still considered casual workers with no rights. It was during this period that the rules of the game between workers and management became defined. The Union fought for five years for the reinstatement of a worker and it won. In addition, the Union succeeded in obtaining from the management pay for the days that workers could not work due to malfunctions in the energy plant or in the water canals.

But in the period July to December 1934, the Union split once more. The Sindicato Unico was affiliated to the CROM but not all the workers agreed to this step. The dissatisfied workers founded the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Fábrica La Experiencia, a member of the Federación Textil and affiliated to the Confederación Obrera de Jalisco. The fight between the two Unions was very intense and even resulted in the use of weapons. On December 7th the new Union was registered with 250 members. Once more the factory had two Unions and this caused quarrels and made the negotiations with management that much more difficult. The antagonism reached such a degree that the General Secretary of the Sindicato de Trabajadores was shot dead. Throughout 1936 and 1937 there were two Unions in the mill. The Unions started to fight for better conditions within the factories and to demand retirement benefits and compensation for illnesses contracted within the factory.

On February 19th 1937 the Confederación Obrera de Jalisco ordered a strike. Aware of the division within the workers of

the factory, and in order to avoid fights among the two different Unions, they sent to the mill workers who did not belong to the Experiencia. They were in charge of cutting off the power of the factory (electricity). The members of the Sindicato de Trabajadores abandoned their work, but the members of the other Union remained near their looms. Taking advantage of this situation the members of the Sindicato de Trabajadores started proselytising amongst the members of the other Union. They attracted members one by one. When the Sindicato de Trabajadores claimed the majority of the workers as members it put an ultimatum to the others: namely that in 24 hours they must become members of the Union or be sacked. The three principal leaders of the Union affiliated to the CROM were in fact sacked (two men and one woman). Later, other ex-members of the Union were sacked and this provoked a flood of telegrams to the gobernador del estado from other Unions in the country affiliated to the CROM protesting against the actions of the Sindicato de Trabajadores. Yet in spite of all the protests, the Sindicato de Trabajadores (now called Sindicato Revolucionario) continued to wipe out the remains of the Cromista Union, sacking all ex-members from the mill. Some of these ex-members fought the case in Mexico City and obtained their re-instatement, but the Union simply sacked them for a second time.

During the period May to October 1937, the Sindicato Revolucionario issued its internal regulations. One new feature was that they succeeded in creating a death insurance scheme for members. In 1937 a new Contrato Colectivo with a new minimum wage was negotiated and approved. It also established holidays and compulsory rest days. In the period November 1937 to April

1938, the Union Committee negotiated between the management of the company and the Union of the textile mill Rio Blanco (Sindicato Libertario de Obreros de la Fábrica de Rio Blanco) in order to reach an agreement concerning the transfer of workers from the Rio Blanco mill to La Experiencia. The management wanted to combine the two mills. The negotiations lasted until 28th March 1938, when it was agreed that the workers of Rio Blanco were to be transferred to La Experiencia without loss of seniority, work category or wage level. They were to be located in the second shift, while the company completed the expansion of the factory so that they could be placed in the first shift. On April 5th 1938 the transfer of machinery from Rio Blanco to La Experiencia took place, and following this the Sindicato Libertario was dissolved.

The same committee was also in charge of negotiating with the enterprise for the establishment of a new market in the factory-town, and for the construction of more school rooms and Union premises. In the period May to October 1938,the Union had problems with the central (Federación) and some of the workers decided to change from Central Obrera, and therefore requested affiliation to the CGT (Confederación General de Trabajadores), although, in the end, no change took place since there was no overall agreement among the workers.

In the period May to October 1939 the Union obtained agreement from the management that personnel in the electric plant and in talleres would be recognized as regular workers. However, personnel in the masonry department were not recognised, although their wages were increased. In the period November to April 1940

the Union Committee was faced with problems due to lack of raw materials. Because of this they negotiated with management for guarantees that workers would not be laid off or lose wages as a consequence. We can see, if we compare with the situation in 1929, that the Union had gained considerable power of negotiation with the management.

From the first day of May to the end of October 1940, the CTM called a National Assembly (Pleno Nacional) in Mexico City in order to constitute the National Textile Union. During this period the Committee was obliged to call for sit-ins and strikes in order to obtain better pay for manufacturing certain kinds of fabrics. From May to October 1941 the Committee secured improvements to housing and to the pavements of some streets. They made arrangements for the Union premises and obtained recognition of the rights of two former Rio Blanco workers. They also obtained the transfer of one worker who deserved it to a white-collar job. Similarly, second shift workers were accepted as regular workers and the Committee obtained proper credentials for several of them. It is also in this year (1941) that the "Revolutionary Union" disappeared and became Section Number three of the Sindicato de Trabajadores de la Industria Textil y Similares en la Republica Mexicana affiliated to the CTM.

Once affiliated to the CTM, the new Executive Committee of the Union sections belonging to Atemajac and La Experiencia had, as a main task, to get rid of the remaining members of the CROM, and to achieve the annulation of the registration of the antagonistic Union.

From its affiliation to the CTM the two sections have been following the development of the labour movement common to the country. A bigger interference of the Government (mainly through labour laws) had minimized the bargaining and fighting power of the individual Unions. From then on negotiations and agreements were organised at national level. They were discussed in Mexico City between the Deputies of the Workers at national level and the "Patrones" (Management) at national level. This ensured that all textile workers would achieve some improvements, salary increases, fringe benefits and rights.

During this period the textile workers as a whole succeeded in negotiating better conditions for the weavers, pensions and indemnities for widows and for workers who contracted illnesses during their job in the factories. They also obtained a shorter working day. Also, it was agreed that when the working day was reduced to less than eight hours due to shortages of raw material or to excess of production, the workers should continue to be paid the whole eight-hour-day. They also obtained increases in retirement pensions and paid holidays. Apprentices were to be paid a wage and, after they had finished their apprenticeship, they would be transferred as supply-workers (suplentes) and allowed to occupy any vacancies that arose. The workers of La Experiencia and Atemajac, because they were living in a town factory, obtained from the French management, additional benefits: they succeeded in obtaining the construction of new houses and other improvements in the factory town (i.e. pavement of some streets, better lighting, better water supply, a new kindergarden and new premises for the Union). In 1950 the Union

persuaded the management to sell the town factory houses to the inhabitants. They also obtained the promise of individual loans for the acquisition of urban plots and for the construction of houses.

Information about the Union from 1951 onwards suggests that its affairs have become rather routine. The committee was involved mainly in obtaining better wages and in defending workers who had lost their posts due to absences, etc. No longer is it a means of obtaining respect for the rights of workers. It has become more a means of control, allied to the State and endorsing its decisions. We find, for example, that when policy gives priority to the improvements in productivity to the detriment of the number of workers involved in production, the Union does not oppose this reduction in the number of workers, nor does it push for compensation at the level required by law.

In the Atemajac and La Experiéncia Unions, there occur important changes in the characteristics of the Union. In the first years of organising the Union (between 1929-1941) the leaders were changed according to the internal regulations, every one or two years. This happened with reasonable regularity until in both factories certain leaders managed to stay in office for much longer periods. In Atemajac one leader cornered the General Secretary's post for 32 years (and before that two of his brothers had been in the post) from 1944 to 1976. In La Experiencia the leader of the period 1946-1948 monopolised the post from 1950 to 1966. He was finally forced to resign: several workers went on hunger strike in front of the Palacio de Gobierno in the main square in Guadalajara to effect his

resignation. They decided on this action because of the arbitrariness of the leader towards one section of workers. However, he had strong support from one faction and his successor only managed to remain in the post for two years. The new leader was very tough towards his predecessor's followers. After this man's resignation a new team was chosen for a further two years. This lasted until 1976 when the two leaders were in office together: one as General Secretary and the other as his deputy, after which they swop jobs regularly. This suggests that a new kind of 'cornered' leadership was arising.

In Atemajac the new leader (1976- to date) who replaced the one who lasted in office 32 years was responsible for the negotiations with the management during the strike of 1976. The same was the case with the new leaders of La Experiencia: in fact their success in the strike gave them great support from the workers. This strike had been building up since 1974. Finally, a strike was called by the two Union sections that composed the two factories. The reason was that the management had breached the contract with the Union. The enterprise was not willing to pay benefits due to its workers (e.g. concerning Health, Housing, Taxes). When the strike took place the management used this to evade payment of its creditors. Nothing happened until 1976 when the enterprise had red figures to the tune of 90 million Mexican pesos. In this year, inflation added to the 23% emergency wage increase decreed by President Echeverría. There was also a major increase in the price of cotton. These circumstances led the company to announce a three-day working week. This provoked the strike on the 16th December 1976. Workers did not want to lose

the factory: they wanted to maintain their jobs. So it was decided to hoist up the red and black flag and to defend the mills. Negotiations with the management turned out fruitless. The management only proposed solutions that were favourable to themselves. This fight continued until the 27th September 1977 when the strike ended in favour of the workers, who were given control of the factories. On 23rd November the workers became the legal owners of these factories. In December they hauled down the flag and commenced running the mills on existing stocks of raw material. However, they soon became aware of the difficulties of running textile mills as workers' cooperatives. So they started looking for a patron (owner and manager). And finally, as I described earlier, the factories passed into the hands of a firm directed by three Lebanese brothers.

The present leader of the Atemajac Union is trying to unite the workers of both mills. They have always been very competitive against each other in the past, but the strike had taught them that unity is strength. During the 1976 strike, the leader of the Atemajac Union did a great deal of proselytizing. He asked for credit in the shops; he lent money, obtained baskets of basic goods and distributed them among the workers (his provider was the wife of a politician of Guadalajara); he found jobs for some of the workers in other industries by exploiting his connections with other leaders, and so on. Now he is trying to establish good relations with the workers by raffling cookers and washing machines. One worker I interviewed told me, "Se preocupa, se hace querer de la gente" (He cares, he knows how to make people like him).

The Union leaders have a lot of power in their hands and great economic interests in remaining in positions of leadership. In the 1950's they were charged by the management to allocate and sell the houses of the company town to the workers. In this business they obtained substantial economic gain as they sold the houses more expensively than the price determined by the management. To their friends they sold two houses instead of the one-per-family that was planned by the company. The second house could then be rented out. They also have the power to allocate the best shifts and the best jobs to their supporters. They also control the money of the Social Health Institute (Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social)(IMSS), the fees paid by members to the Union, the capital invested in the Mutual Fund and saving fund. The cloth that is defective (faulty) they trade. It is purchased very cheaply from the mill (as a special concession from the management) and sold at a profit. They also have a flourishing business of selling "early retirements" or "retirements through industrial invalidity". It is merely a matter of having the right contacts with doctors and with civil registrars so as to obtain the required certificates.

All this gives them power and they use it to maintain their leadership positions and in order to obtain other political posts in the municipality. The two Unions (the Section three from La Experiencia and the Section nine from Atemajac) encompass a considerable number of workers (almost 1000) and have considerable political followingswithin the municipio where they are located: Zapopan.

At present, Union activity is reduced to routine procedures and to pressing for the fulfilment of the agreement signed with the new management, although the Union has not always been successful in this. The negotiations dealing with the improvement of salaries, benefits, and workers' demands are carried out in Mexico City, since the Textile Unions now have a Contrato Ley that is the same for the whole country. Hence their action is often limited to giving support to decisions already taken at a national level.

The history of the labour movement in the textile mills shows, as Camacho puts it, that

> the different moments of the formation of the State and regime are matched with different relations between the labour movement and the constituted power. Likewise the forms of relationship have varied as a result of the process of development of the economy and social forces.
>
> (Camacho, 1980: 29)

During the 60 years of the unionist movement, different types of relations between the State and the labour movement have developed. In a first period (from 1920-1928), the labour movement was placed in an uncertain position wherein its strength was recognized but not trusted. This period corresponded with the Presidency of Carranza. With the Presidency of Calles, the labour movement acquired more power due to a mutually convenient alliance. Then during the Presidential periods of Cárdenas and Avila Camacho, the labour movement suffered a process of integration to the State (e.g. with the creation of the CTM, purge of the CTM from its left-wing members 1947 to 1951). In the period 1958-59, the CTM got rid of more combative Unions, mainly the Railway Union. In the period 1962 to 1972 there was a strengthen-

ing of the workers linked to strategic sectors (the so-called "Labour aristocracy") and a general improvement in salaries for a major part of the working class. And since 1973 we have witnessed a centralization of the labour movement at the same time as there has been a strengthening of opposition to the corporativist policies.

During the 1920's, the unionist movement was a movement with greater autonomy with respect to the State than at present. During this period, Mexico was a country with regional powers. The Unions with 'traditional' assertiveness (e.g. the workers of the textile mills in Veracruz and Puebla) enjoyed a notorious autonomy in the face of a regime in process of formation. During this period the greatest contingents of workers were members of CROM whose strength and leadership were very useful to the Government in its fight against regionalism and caciquismo and the extra-religious authority of the church. They were able to mobilize the Unions to support the policies of the Government and to create an ambience of trust and stability with the Mexican Government.

The relative autonomy of the CROM was possible in the structural situation described above but also because of the similarity of its leader's aims (Morones) and those of the President of the Republic (Calles). When Calles gained the Presidency he had little support in comparison with Obregón who had the support of the army. Morones had differences with Obregón. The alliance with Calles gave him support and more weight to his Union. The CROM was at its peak in 1926. It obtained a lot of influence and it was able to place its men

in strategic positions in the Government.

Thus the greater autonomy of the 1920's was due to the weak nature of the national bourgeoisie, of the existence of an enclave economic model (the existence of multi-nationals in the most important sectors of the economy, in railways, electricity and oil), the need for the Government to have peasants and workers' support and to the fact that the leaders of the Centrales Sindicales were fighting for power. This autonomy finished with the assassination of Obregón which hastened the confrontation between the State (army) and the labour movement (CROM).

From 1929 onwards the CROM was politically annihilated. Its men were excluded from the important positions they were holding and in addition the CROM suffered internal division. From this division the CTM was later to emerge. The Presidency of Portes Gil came down especially hard against the CROM. The Federal Labour Law promulgated by Ortiz Rubio was a clear statement of the centralist tendency of the State. Local labour laws were abolished in 1931. The Federal Law was a token of the direct participation of the State in the Society by political means.

The regime needed an ally within the working class to be able to homogeneize the Society, and it did that through the inclusion of the main Unions in the body of the State itself.

This was the period of Lázaro Cárdenas and the PNR (Partido Nacional Revolucionario) which later became the PRI. Cárdenas was calling for a Unique Unionist Front. He needed the support

of the Unions to fight Calles. Cárdenas created the CTM in 1936 with the intention of uniting the working class, peasants and bureaucrats. His idea was the creation of a national State representing the majority, but without being a dictatorship of the proletariat. The labour movement achieved exceptional political and economic victories during the Cárdenas regime. This was due to the fact that the National State had already been constituted, and the Cristero movement and the regional powers and the army had been institutionalized which created internal stability and avoided the threat of rebellion. The period 1939-47 marks the integration of the labour movement into the State through the CTM.

During this period the struggles between the leaders of the two main Unions (Centrales Sindicales: CROM-CTM) were concentrated on ways to obtain more members. In 1947 the CTM won and the left-wing unions were beaten. From that moment to the present the CTM has been aware of the importance of having State support and in order to achieve this support it must prove that it is useful to the central State. Thus, in spite of its history and the existence of different types of relationships between labour movement and State through these different periods, the general tendency has been towards the absorption of the labour movement by the State (Camacho, 1980: passim).

Concluding Points

The textile mills, through their history, illustrate the process of development undergone by Guadalajara and its region. In the middle of the nineteenth century when the mills were established they were created with commercial capital acquired

in the region by local criollos (with the possible exception of Rio Grande which is said to have been founded by Spaniards). Early in their history they changed owners but the Frenchmen who acquired them were considered "criollos nuevos" and their commitment was to the region. They invested in the factories and in the improvement of the living conditions of Guadalajara. In their beginning, these mills were "empresas multiplicadoras" as their owners created paper mills and garment factories. The textile industries seemed to be operating as haciendas in that they possessed lands which were cultivated. The corn produced in these lands produced an oil enterprise. In addition, the owners of the factories introduced, with the help of the regional government, the telephone and telegraph, electricity and tramways. Thus, we can say that from their beginning up to the 1920's, these factories, unlike the enclave industries, were beneficial to the region where they were established.

But as centralization became more evident the factories became less profitable. Also, the establishment of a national labour law prevented the owners of the mills from over-exploiting their workers as they had been doing. This made the mills even less profitable. The labour movements, the introduction of cheaper products coming from Mexico or Puebla, and the loss of the department stores, led to the decline of the owners' interest in the mills. The investment in modern technology was not enough or was too late, and all these factors led to the selling of the mills to a group of disinterested owners, from outside the region, whose only interest in buying them was to stamp out competition. The assertiveness of the workers, who did not want to lose their jobs, is the primary reason for the present existence

of the factories. The Government was obliged to take over these factories, some personally (Nafinsa) and others through giving concessions and loans to textile mill owners. This cost the Government a lot of money but the step was necessary in order to avoid the closure of important sources of employment. Unemployment and migration are acutely felt problems in Jalisco and to keep, alleviate and control the situation the Federal Government has had to take drastic steps.

We will see, in the chapters to follow, that the labour force engaged in the two different types of industry (the "traditional" textile mills and the "modern" enclave industries) present striking differences. These are illustrated and explained by relating the life histories of the workers to the structural context in which they take place.

General Concluding Points to Part I

In this part of the thesis I have presented the history and development of three factories in two different research locations. The history and description of the two factories located in the South of Jalisco clearly reveal a new type of regional development, different from the previous one described by de la Peña in several of his papers (de la Peña, 1977, 1978, 1979). The paper mill, though started with regional capital and assets, changed hands early in its history and became one more State-owned enterprise which lost money. Even its founding was a response to a policy of the central government to create industries which would support the industrial development of the country as a whole, and not the development of the Jalisco region

itself. The cement factory serves interests outside the region and outside the country: it is a subsidiary of a transnational company. Both factories have cornered important resources of the region and through negative sanctions have prevented the emergence of other kinds of industry (e.g. small-scale industries run by local inhabitants) which would employ more workers, even though they would certainly receive smaller wages and fewer fringe benefits. I think that through the history of the factories their 'enclave' nature has been clearly defined: they serve interests alien to the region, and they extract resources (material and human as we will see in the case studies). The only thing they leave in the area is the high salaries they give to their workers and these high salaries result in striking social differentiation. This social differentiation has created, at least among the top-job workers and Union leaders, a sense of not-belonging, of not being any longer related to the peasantry, although not so long ago they were peasants themselves.

The case of the textile mills is different. Their establishment and development was linked to the development and interests of the region, and during their beginning up until the 1920's they had the possibility of helping in the development of the area and city in which they were located. This possibility disappeared when the Central State gained more influence, when labour laws made it more difficult to over-exploit the workforce engaged in the production process, and when cheaper products invaded the area. The interests of regional management in the mills disappeared and the factories passed into extra-regional hands, first to capitalists from Mexico City and finally to the

State, although in one case, this was mediated through a private firm.

The workers of the textile mills do not appear so socially differentiated. The only ones who achieved any marked social status were the Union leaders. Through cornering the Union leadership for more than 20 years and through the sale of jobs, early retirements, and "favores" (favours) of different kinds, they accumulated an important quantity of capital (e.g. houses, garages). The differences in material conditions (lower wages, less fringe benefits) were to create, among the textile workers, different life styles, more limited possibilities for economic achievement and life perceptions. These issues are explored in the second part of the thesis.

By looking at the social characteristics (social origins, level of education, previous occupation) of the workers I interviewed in the three different factories, we notice their differences and similarities. The background of the paper mill workers is more agricultural than that of the workers of the cement factory. This is due, mainly, to the changes that the region underwent during the twenty odd years that separate the creation of the two factories. The main change was the shortage of available land which led to high out-migration from the region. Young people were obliged to look elsewhere for a living. Thus, among the Tolteca workers, we have more masons, carpenters and drivers than among the Atenquique workers. The level of education also increases with the Tolteca workers. They are almost all of them originally from the region, mainly from towns nearby the factories. There are few migrants from other States (and, if so, they come

from neighbouring States). The panorama changes when we refer to the characteristics of the textile workers. The great majority of our interviewees were born in the factory towns, as their families have been engaged in textile work for almost three generations. The first migrants came from the States surrounding Jalisco: Nayarit and Zacatecas. Another striking characteristic is that some of the first migrants were women, single or widowed, who came to seek a living in the textile mills which, in the old days, were mainly open to women and children. Their level of education was extremely low, and still is. The background of the first migrants was that of peasants.

Thus we can say that the Atenquique and Tolteca workers were mainly peasants when they first started work in the factories, whereas the textile workers had, to a greater extent, a working class background. In the second part of this thesis I explore whether these differences in background affect life perceptions, economic strategies and life styles.

Throughout the previous three chapters I have also discussed the Unions in each one of these factories. The history of the Tolteca and Atenquique Unions is not very complicated. Union organisation was imposed by the management, with the approval of Government. The rank and file never had a strong interest in participating nor was it encouraged to do so by the Union leaders or management.

Relations between Union leaders and management are carried out on the understanding that they must all gain if they are to

remain on good terms. Thus, the bargaining process is always carried out on this understanding. The history of the Union in the textile mills shows, on the other hand, that good relations have not always been possible. In the beginning, the Central State had a lot of trouble eliminating the left-wing in the labour movement. The history of the Union of La Experiencia, on the basis of which my presentation has been made, conforms to the periodization and changes in the relationship between labour movement and State. The clashes between different factions (Catholics, Cromistas, etc.) stopped when the Government was strong enough to destroy the church and left-wing influence in the labour movement. From 1941, the year in which the Union of La Experiencia, joined the CTM, its raison d'être has been linked to that of the CTM: to prove that it is useful to Government. They have been absorbed into the ranks of the State, have acquired more rights and recognition, but they have lost their autonomy, and are now confined to following the directives given to their leaders by the Central State. This was achieved through the gradual incorporation of the workforce (almost half of it) into the CTM, which is one of the three pillars of the PRI, the party which has ruled the nation for more than 50 years.

But this pro-Government posture of the official labour movement was only secured as a result of massive purges of the Left in 1948. Even so, opposition to Government policies continued in a number of important Unions, and flared up dramatically in the railway workers' strike of 1958-59. In the late 1970's, with some difficulty, the Government persuaded the labour movement to accept an incomes policy, as part of anti-inflationary measures (Roxborough, 1981: 88). Thus nothing much was won.

Until now, the labour movement has been co-opted by the Central State but one cannot predict for how long. The status quo depends on several factors: the organisation of collective bargaining, the state of the labour market (its homogeneity, and the level of unemployment), the process of urbanization, the segmentation of labour markets (like in Atenquique and Tolteca where the cornering of jobs has led to the crystalization of a privileged stratum), and on industrial development. To maintain relations between labour and management, the State intervenes and, in trying to restructure labour relations in the long term, it institutionalizes a specific pattern of labour relations. This pattern depends on the particular form of organisation of the working class, but mainly on the form of organisation of the working class in the leading industries (those which lead the country's industrial and economic development).

In this first part of the thesis, I tried to present some of the ways in which the workforce has been organised, co-opted into one of the main Centrales Sindicales of the country, and the way in which Union leaders and management tried to divide it and minimize its bargaining power. We have seen that in Tolteca and Atenquique the high salaries and privileges tend to differentiate, rather strikingly, the cement and paper workers from the rest of the population. In addition, inside each factory there is also an important division between the holders of senior jobs, those acting as Union leaders, and the rank and file who have almost no participation in the decision-making process. In Atenquique, the paternalism of the management, and the isolated and regulated life in the factory town has contri-

buted to the apathy of the workers. The management of both companies had, on top of all that, other ways of weakening the organisational links of the workers. For instance, in Atenquique the Contratos Colectivos of Union Forestal (the raw material supplier) and of the paper mill are negotiated at different times. The negotiations for the Contrato Colectivo of Union Forestal takes place during the holidays of the paper mill (each year they have 20 days holiday during which time the paper mill undergoes general cleaning and repairs). This timing weakens the bargaining power of the Union Forestal. If they decide to call a strike it does not matter very much, as the paper mill does not at that time require a supply of raw material.

The cement factory management also successfully undermines the bargaining power of its workers. All the factory workers belong to the same Central Sindical (CTM), thus it should be easy for them to unite and put forward their demands as a block representing the workers of the eight cement factories. But this is not possible as each factory has a different date for negotiating its Contrato Colectivo. Tolteca Zapotiltic carries out its negotiations in July. These take place in Guadalajara or Mexico City and the workers depend on the information carried by their Union leaders and delegates. Because of this, they never know at first hand exactly what is going on. If there is no agreement reached and one of the factories comes out on strike, the management is never short of cement as it can always rely on the production of the other seven factories.

The corruption of the leaders, and the assets which the management allows them to handle and distribute, makes them easy

prey. The leadership depends very much on what they can give to the workers they represent, and the management uses this to manipulate them. In addition, the management (mainly the Personnel Chief) and the Union leaders maintain personal relationships based on "favores" (favours) they do for each other. These favores are discussed during negotiations and, in order to be able to retain such favores (which always are more numerous on the management side), the Union leaders often sacrifice their fellow workers' interests.

Thus, we have, in each of the three factories, a corrupt Union leadership ready to make the most of their privileged position as Union officials and senior employees. These Union leaders obtain support from workers in top jobs, relatives and "clients" who do their best to gain their favores and who proselytise amongst their mates on behalf of their patron. Under them there are the rank and file workers, who receive much less pay but rely on their jobs to keep body and soul together. This is more evident among the textile workers where the salaries and fringe benefits are lower.

These ways of ordering the population - the creation of what can descriptively be called a "labour aristocracy" and the undermining by management and Central State of the bargaining power of the Unions - have, until now, worked to maintain the status quo by internally dividing the working-class in its opposition to a weakly formed bourgeoisie. This situation raises other important issues for discussion. As Jelin puts it:

> The objective heterogeneity internal to the working-class is enormous, it includes sectors of the workforce highly privileged, in terms of their working conditions and salaries,

> and marginal and unemployed sectors. Since this reality exists, and without denying the importance of establishing the magnitude of intra-class differences, the sociologically interesting questions are: 1) the degree to which this situation of objective privilege is perceived by the workers and 2) whether this perception of relative privilege destroys the workers' bases of solidarity and identity.
>
> (Jelin, 1979: 247)

In Part II of the thesis, I will present detailed case studies of workers of the three industries and give some clues as to the answers to these questions. So far, we have seen that the Union leaders of Atenquique are not concerned with the peasants of the area (this was made clear during the conflict between the paper mill and the woodland owners who are mostly peasants and ejidatarios). In the case studies to follow, I will try to explore this issue by looking at the networks of social relationships maintained by the workers and their links with their families.

Another important issue to be explored is the role of women in industrial work. As we have seen in the chapter relating to the textile industry, women were originally an important part of the workforce in the mills. But, recently, a number have been dismissed and the management policy is to get rid of them completely. This is another way of creating "cheap labour" in the region and elsewhere. The women are now obliged to look for jobs in the maquila sector (putting-out system). In the case studies, I present three cases of women and in the genealogies I describe the labour market reserved for the female labour force.

In general, the case studies illustrate the heterogeneity of the working-class by bringing out the different positions they occupy in the labour market (some work in modern and others in traditional industries), and by their differences in terms of life chances and perceptions. All these differences are framed by one common characteristic: all the workers are stable, non-marginal industrial workers. Thus, heterogeneity of the working-class implies not only that they belong to modern industries or to the category of unskilled 'marginal' workers, but also that there exist significant differences within the industrial sector (e.g. between modern and traditional industries) and within each factory (between top jobs, Union leaders, and the rank and file), and finally, between the sexes. I explore these issues further in Part II.

PART II

THE WORKERS

INTRODUCTION

In Part I of this thesis I analysed the historical background of the industries, their pattern of development, their organisation, and the importance of the Unions in their internal organisation and their links with the wider Mexican Union organisation.

In this second part I focus on the micro-social level; on the lives of the people involved in the processes of social change. The detailed life-histories of the workers involved in these factories demonstrates the importance of being a member of the industrial sector of the population. The cases emphasize occupational careers, migration and changes in family economy and strategy. My principal aim is to discover the impact of industrial work on the lives of the workers and their families.

The case studies are a way of linking together the history of the development of the region (focusing on centralization, increasing capitalist penetration, and loss of autonomy), the impact of the industries on the region, and the life histories and genealogical information obtained through interviews with the industrial workers. In Chapter V I present case studies of two workers from the paper mill and two from the cement factory. Then in Chapter VI four contrasting cases from the textile mills are analysed. The organisation of the case studies is as follows: first I give the family background of the worker and his occupational career before entering industrial

work; then a description of his economic strategies and achievements and a description of his network of social relations. The comparison between his life before and after entering industrial work highlights the importance of having an industrial job for achieving economic improvement and of education as a means of upward mobility. The economic strategies and achievements reveal the opportunities and constraints that the region offers in the way of investment. The description of his network of social relations and the use he makes of it will give us clues about the structure of the region and about the opportunities it offers to its inhabitants. I describe the way in which the interviewees sever or reinforce links in accord with their present economic objectives. One aspect of this is the way in which industrial workers relate to kinsmen not engaged in industrial work. Long argues,

> Involvement in a specific network of relationships, however, may carry with it some negative consequences for career mobility since dependence on particular relationships will tend to impose boundaries or limits on the types of action or decision possible. Hence it may be necessary at times in a career to reduce or repudiate certain sectors of one's effective network.... Also, subject to the prevailing circumstances, a man may fail to exploit the opportunities available and find himself immobile, encapsulated within a set of relationships. The processes by which people spin webs of relationships and shake off old ones are still not adequately understood.
>
> (Long, 1979: 127)

A similar process is manifest in the life careers of the industrial workers of the cement and paper factory and in those of the textile workers. These processes of severing certain links and creating new ones are important for understanding the social organisation of the area and the weight that the industrial working-class possesses in the area.

In Part I of this thesis I have tried to show how Unions co-opt the labour force and how. In the case of the cement and paper workers, the high salaries and fringe benefits to which they have access isolate them sometimes from the rest of the population. In the case of the textile workers it was their confinement to the compounds of the factory, the paternalist policies of the French management, the Catholic Union and finally their co-option by the big National Union which kept the labour movement to a minimum.

By focusing on the life histories of eight of our informants and on their different ways of "spinning webs of relationships and shaking off old ones", I want to present and analyse the circumstances and conditions under which these decisions (spinning-shaking off) do or do not take place. These "webs of relationships" can be important in the issue of labour movements, urban-rural relations, class integration and class solidarity. Although I do not pretend to answer all these important questions, I hope to give, through the presentation of the case studies, some ideas on how the workers involved in these processes of production strengthen or sever their social links.

The pattern of rural-urban links and how they are used will be clarified in the genealogical analysis in Chapter VII. Balan and Jelin stress the theoretical importance of the life history method:

> its attractiveness resides in the utility that it has to grasp relevant information to get to the bottom of the relation between biographical time and the historical social time.
>
> (Balan and Jelin, 1979: 8)

They also argue:

> The collection of life histories can tell us a lot about the daily operation of a given society, the patterns of change through time, [and] the process of social transformation "in vivo"."
>
> (ibid: 11)

But they warn us that

> .... precise, direct and immediate inference between the aggregate of individual life histories and the macro-social level is impossible; it requires a considerable theoretical and methodological elaboration...
>
> (ibid., 11)

In order then to link our case studies with the macro-social level I have resorted to the use of genealogies. The use of genealogies helps to trace changes in the labour market, in educational levels and social mobility from the beginning of the nineteenth century. The data collected are obviously retrospective but they help to explore and explain the variations from one generation to the other. As we will see, activities, occupations and levels of education vary significantly from one generation to the other. The exploration of the causes and conditions of such variations enables one to identify significant economic and social changes at regional, and even at national, level.

In Chapter VII I relate the characteristics of the members of each generation to historical processes in the region. The first generation (the interviewee's grand-parents) is located at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. This period was characterised by industrial and agricultural expansion based on the consolidation of a regional market. Factories, domestic industries, haciendas and ranchos

produced for the internal market; they also exported but the economy did not heavily depend on the external market. During this period Government action was weak (for instance, in education).

The second generation (the interviewee's parents, uncles and aunts) witnessed the disappearance of the former model of development and the emergence of a more active Government (especially in relation to land reform and education). This generation witnessed regional economic dislocation leading to considerable out-migration. The regional economic dislocation resulting from the invasion of the regional market by national and foreign products which take the place of locally produced goods eventually provoke the closing down of many of the latter industries. The local production directs itself to export production (e.g. sugar and cereals). During this period, a series of events threatened regional enterprise: the Revolution (1910), the Cristiada (1926), the Land Reform, the crisis of 1929, and the increasing penetration of roads. This period witnessed the appearance of industrial enclaves, finance capital, neolatifundia, big commercial distributors and a large-scale migration to Guadalajara, Mexico City and the USA (bracerismo).

The third generation (the interviewees, their brothers and cousins) is characterised by the consolidation of a double labour market at local level: the large-scale industries and the small-scale informal enterprises. It is in this period that massive migration and educational programmes start. Social mobility is eminently selective because industrialisation takes place in the context of peripheral capitalism of unequal effects. Such industries are controlled from the outside by national and trans-

national economic groups.

The fourth generation (the informants' children and informants' brothers' children) highlights the importance of industrial work for creating a better future for children. This is explored by comparing the opportunities for children of parents without industrial jobs in the genealogy.

These types of genealogical data can be used to illustrate the main historical changes experienced by the region. Through a diachronic analysis special attention is given to the problems of a) labour market, b) level of education, and c) social mobility. My aim is to show the social impact of the large-scale industries. The genealogical data allow one to do that as there are many members of the families in the genealogies who are not in industrial work. They will show us the differences that exist between having an industrial job and working in other contexts (e.g. small-scale sector, peasant agriculture, services and trade). The genealogical data show that industrial work marks a clear inter-generational division in social mobility. Between the first and second generations there is no process of social mobility, or very little; between the second and third generations industrial work appears as a determinant factor in upwards mobility, and between the third and fourth generations a new element is added: education.

The genealogical data also give important information about patterns of migration, and the characteristics of the migrants. This allows one to describe the migration phenomenon in the context of a discussion of the regional and national economy. They also yield data on the education and occupational differences

between men and women.

Four case studies are compared with four case studies and genealogies from the textile mills of Guadalajara. This comparison brings to light important differences between the different groups of industrial workers. The textile workers, as the case studies highlight, have been in the industrial world for as much as four generations. But they have not achieved the same prosperity as the workers in the cement and paper mills.

These differences can be explained by the differences of the markets to which the factories are directed. Cement and paper are directed to a regional and national market made up of industries and building companies. This market allows the producers to make sufficient profits to bring important fringe benefits and better salaries to their labour force. This is not the case with the textile industry whose market is aimed at the middle and lower classes. This market does not permit sufficient profit (from a capitalist point of view) to keep its labour force in a privileged stratum. This results in a different use of networks of social relations and in different economic strategies.

CHAPTER V CASE STUDIES OF ENCLAVE WORKERS

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, four case studies of workers are presented. I start with the two cases from the paper mill, followed by two from the cement factory. These cases are meant to illustrate the differences in economic strategies and use of social networks adopted by workers in the two rural enclave industries. Other factors such as the age at which the workers enter industrial life, their backgrounds, their education, and their links with the Union, are also compared.

The case studies are presented using the following schema: family background and occupational career before entering industrial work, life and economic strategies during industrial work, their network of social relations and how they adapt and "exploit" these relations to achieve social and economic goals. This exposé will be followed by analytical comments where I attempt to bring together both historical and biographical time.

I start with two cases of workers at the paper mill.

Case I : Don Andrés

Don Andrés has worked at the paper mill for 25 years. In some ways he represents an unusual case among the Atenquique workers in that, unlike the great majority of his fellow-workers, he does not want to remain in the factory until retirement. This is due to his specific position in the structure of the region.

Family background and life before entering industrial work

Don Andrés' paternal grandfather was a peasant who worked as a sharecropper in the Tuxpan municipality. He was born around 1885. His maternal grandfather was also a native of the same municipio but he was a landowner. Don Andrés' father, born possibly in 1910, in the Tuxpan municipio, was a sharecropper but he succeeded, through marriage, in acquiring some land and later he was able to buy some more. He had some years of elementary schooling, and he died at an advanced age bequesting land and houses to his sons. Several informants stated that the family of Don Andrés' mother was rich. They had more than 100 hectares in land that they cultivated through sharecroppers. Indeed, Don Marcos, Case No.II, and his father were sharecroppers of Don Andrés' uncles.

Don Andrés himself was born in Tuxpan in 1934. He is the eldest of three brothers, and completed elementary school (1940-46). In 1945 he began to help his father on his plot of land. They cultivated between 12 and 14 hectares, growing corn and peanuts. In 1946, when he finished elementary school, he had the opportunity to carry on his education but he was too lazy to do so and now regrets this. He continued to help his father on the plot and at the same time started an apprenticeship in a garage in Tuxpan. This lasted until 1949 when he formed part of the work force building the paper mill. He was 15 years old at that time and was hired by the company in charge of the factory's construction.

Industrial work

It was in 1951, through the intervention of one of his

cousins (I C 46)*, that he entered the paper mill as an unskilled worker (peón). His career in the factory has been rather erratic as he committed several faults of non-attendance because of his habit of drinking too much. His employment in the factory dates from 1951 as a casual worker, but not with the security of a 'regular' worker until 1955 due to a suspension. In 1957 he suffered another punishment: another suspension and then reinstatement in a lower category with a consequent reduction in wages. In 1959 he endured the same penalty. He remained in the same category of unskilled worker (peón) until 1968 when, finally, his industrial career became stable, and his promotion up the ladder became regular. At the beginning of his career, he was helped by two of his cousins who had portfolios in the Union at different periods (I C 46 & 47) (Deputy and Labour Secretary). They helped in obtaining his reinstatement and in becoming a 'regular' worker (obtener la planta). Nevertheless he lost three years of seniority benefits. After several years as an employee in the storehouse he finally came to the maintenance department where he could use his skills and knowledge of mechanics. In 1971 he obtained the post of assistant mechanic, and from then on his promotion in the maintenance department of the factory has progressed steadily. In 1954, he married María Guadalupe, native from Tuxpan, born in 1934, whose family is made up of peasants and masons. She had completed elementary school. In 1955 they had their first daughter and in 1956 the second one. That same year (1956) Don Andrés began to cultivate the four and a half hectares that his mother gave him. He sowed corn and peanuts. He used the corn for his family

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* These codes refer to the genealogical lists in Appendix VI. The Roman numerals refer to the genealogy, the letters to the generations (A - First Generation).

and sold the peanuts. Since then he has cultivated the plot every year. When the peanut market tumbled in the 1960's, due to competition from Sonora and Sinaloa, he began sowing corn as a principal crop mixed with beans and pumpkins.

In 1958 and 1959 he had a third and fourth daughter, and in 1961 his first son. In 1962 his sixth daughter was born and in 1964 and 1966 his seventh and eighth daughters, and in 1968 a second son. In 1969 he bought a cow to satisfy the milk needs of his nine children, and he keeps it in his back yard. In 1972 his tenth daughter was born and in the same year he hired a plot of four and a half hectares. He cultivates corn and sweet potatoes in that plot, selling the sweet potatoes and some of the corn.

In 1973 he bought the next door house with the idea of establishing a garage in partnership with an engineer from the paper mill. In 1975 he had his eleventh and last daughter. In 1977 he sold the house he had bought for the garage and bought instead the four and a half hectares he was renting. That same year, his son Hilario started work in the factory as a regular worker. His father got the place for him due to his seniority. He then bought a second cow.

The family lives in the house which Don Andrés inherited from his father. It is a big house which had been divided into three equal portions, one for him and one for each of his two brothers. José, the first brother, was born in 1937 and was devoted to the cultivation of the fields he owned. However, he sold them little by little and he is now a day labourer. Pedro, born in Tuxpan in 1941, who actually lives in Guadalajara, is

the second brother, who studied to be an elementary school teacher, and afterwards studied law at the University of Guadalajara. He supported himself and paid for his studies by working as a teacher and by selling the lands he inherited from his parents.

Don Andrés' house is built on a plot of land of 5.50 metres frontage and 40 metres depth. Lately (1978) he improved it, putting in cement floors, new brick walls and building a second floor. Now the house consists of four rooms, kitchen, bathroom, dining and sitting room and a second floor that is not yet finished. In the back yard, Don Andrés' wife keeps rabbits, chickens and three goats. These animals are used for family consumption and for sale. The animals are fed by buying alfalfa (lucerne) because in the plot they produce corn. They also use the left-overs of the family table to feed them.

Don Andrés thinks that education is important and has tried to give as much schooling as he possibly can to his rather large family. Ma. Concepción is studying at the University of Guadalajara and is in her third year of pharmaco-biological chemistry. Martha is a secretary and is being trained in computing in Cd. Guzmán. She did her secretarial training in Cd. Guzmán and her secondary schooling in the CECYT of Tuxpan City. Ma. Guadalupe studied in secondary school and now she is doing the first year at a nurses training school in Cd. Guzmán. Lucila finished secondary school and did not want to continue. She has been working in a tortillería in Tuxpan, but she did not like it and now wants to restart school, but she does not know what she wants to study. While she makes up her mind, she is still working in the tortillería and she will do so until Martha finishes her

training. That is a step Don Andrés is taking to make sure she does not waste money in doing something she will not finish or like.

Hilario finished secondary school and, in 1976, he tried to enter the "Flying School" in Guadalajara, but "he was not tall enough". So he went to the Technical College in Cd. Guzmán and studied for one year in a practical training course in machinery and tools, but then the opportunity for a post in Atenquique arose. Don Andrés did not want Hilario to start working in the factory because he thought that Hilario, once he was earning some money, would not carry on with his education. He proved to be right as Hilario left school after starting work at Atenquique. Nevertheless Hilario is now thinking of working one year in the factory and then asking for six months leave to try again to train in the "Flying School" to find out if he really likes that. He is now eligible as he is now more than tall enough.

Marina is behind in her studies. She is 16 and doing the first year of secondary school. Gabriela is also slow and, like her sister,is at present in her first year of secondary school. Ma. Elena has problems in learning and is still in the third year of elementary school. When I first interviewed Don Andrés in 1976 he told me he was going to give up educating these three girls because they had learning problems. However, another two years have gone by and they are still at school.

Agustín is in the fourth year of elementary school and he wants to keep studying because he says he doesn't like to work on the land. Don Andrés believes that Agustín is his most intelli-

gent son and that he will "go far". He is studying in a private school in Cd. Guzmán. Rosa Lilia is in the first year of elementary school and is doing well and Armida, the youngest, has just started kindergarden.

Before Hilario started to work in Atenquique, Don Andrés was the only breadwinner of the family. Now Hilario supports himself and gives some money to his mother. Don Andrés states that if it were not for his cattle and the land he cultivates, he would not be able to support his rather large family on factory wages. Their main expenses are educational and, lately, in improvements to the house where they live. Don Andrés has invested some capital in buying cattle. At present (1978) he has 12 cows and some calves and two donkeys. He decided that he would sow only one of the plots this year (1978), reserving the other for grazing. Besides grass, he gives the cattle the corn stubble and he also buys prepared food. He has as well some other expenses; the water for the animals has to be brought to the plot in water wagons, and to take the stubble and grass to the plot where the animals are kept he has to hire a truck, which he also hires when he has to take his family and day labourers to the plot to do the agricultural work. That is why he is thinking of investing the money he will receive for his holidays in buying a truck.

To start the agricultural work he waits for his children to be on holiday from school, and he saves in this way the wages of day labourers. The ploughing and the weeding are done by a tractor he hires, but for the harvest he hires eight day labourers for five days.

For Don Andrés the agricultural work is far more enjoyable than the work in the factory. He is expecting to stop working at the factory in five or six years. He does not want to wait until the official retirement date. Nevertheless, he is well aware that his wages from Atenquique are three times more than what he could obtain from the plot, and from milk and from renting out his animals. His expenses in education are the most substantial, almost more than double those of food. That is why he is planning to continue at the factory for five or six years more. By then Ma. Concepción will have finished her training at the University, and his son, Agustín, will be finishing secondary school. He hopes that some of the others will be supporting themselves and so the expenses will be reduced in a substantial way and he will be able to meet the family needs with just the products of the land. Besides, he thinks that when he has more time his plots will produce more, because he says, "Al ojo del amo engorda el caballo" (The horse gets fat under the master's supervision).

Don Andrés' network of social relations

We have seen that during Don Andrés' life career kinship has proved to be important. At the beginning of his industrial career it was thanks to a cousin (I C 46) from his maternal side that he was accepted into the paper mill as a casual worker. He did not behave as he should and had several problems with the factory management. Again these problems were solved through the intervention, on two different occasions, of two of his cousins who had portfolios in the Union Executive Committee. They obtained his reinstatement though with a loss in seniority and in wages. In the factory Don Andrés has been trying to

establish links with white-collar workers more than with his fellow mates. This, besides serving his interests, is due to the fact that Don Andrés' maternal family is known as "very rich" and this "superiority", though not so real, impedes strong links with some of his fellow workers.

When asked to name his best friends in the factory, Don Andrés named two engineers who work in his own department. He even had plans to start a garage in partnership with one of them, but Don Andrés finally changed his mind. Furthermore, one of his _compadres_ is a white-collar employee in the store-house of the factory. For his other _compadres_ he chose relatives in the beginning, and later friends within the factory and in Tuxpan. His main concern now is to increase his links with small landowners and cattle owners. Within his family he is trying to keep his links with his maternal kin. The landowners are on that side of his family. His paternal kin consists of sharecroppers, _ejidatarios_, masons and day labourers. Don Andrés has important links with I C 43 who is a cousin who has land and agricultural machinery which he obtained through selling some of his wife's land. He himself is an _ejidatario_. Don Andrés hires the tractor of this cousin to work his plot. The interest to increase his links with his maternal kin and with land and cattle owners lies in his future plans to invest more in land and cattle. He is trying to strengthen his links with the _Asociación de Pequeños Ganaderos_ (Small Cattle Owners Association) where he has recently registered his branding iron.

His relations with his brother, who is a lawyer, are good. Don Andrés has helped him to finish his law studies and he also gave him some money and animals for his graduation party. On

the other hand, his links with his other brother are very weak. Don Andrés says he is a drunkard and he was very angry with him for selling his land.

Comments on Don Andrés' career

The working life of Don Andrés has been developed entirely in Tuxpan and its environs. He has almost always been involved with agricultural work even when he started working in the paper mill. His involvement in agriculture lies in the fact that his family has always owned land and so Don Andrés has always had access to land. Because of this he was never obliged to migrate, especially in the early years, in order to look for other means of earning a living.

His main interest has always been in the land, although he understands that industrial work is necessary to achieve his goals. The beginning of his industrial career was very chaotic as he did not take it seriously until he started acquiring more responsibilities (marriage and children). But, as we shall see, contrary to our other interviewees, industrial work is not the main interest in Don Andrés' life.

All his investments have been in agriculture (land or cattle or savings to buy a truck). Only once did he try to diversify his investments by buying a house, planning to start a garage in collaboration with an engineer of the paper factory, but he finally chose to sell the house and invest the money in buying a plot he was previously renting.

His integration into the factory has not been very high, he has never had a portfolio in the Union, and his promotion on

the ladder was not regular until after 1970 when he started working in the maintenance department, and, on top of all that, he does not want to wait until retirement. He wants to go as soon as the educational expenses of his rather large family are not so heavy. Education for his children is also a main concern in Don Andrés' plans for investment. He has supported his children's education even in the case of his daughters who are slow. He himself has said that he stays in the paper mill mainly due to his desire to educate his children as far as he can. The priorities of investment for Don Andrés show that the regional structure creates few opportunities for diversification or investment in businesses other than in small-scale enterprise or education.

We have seen that Don Andrés' main concern is in agriculture and so he has always tried to reinforce his links with relatives and persons who can help him in his field of economic activity. He has strengthened his links with his maternal kin, the branch of the family who own land and machinery he can hire. They also can give him information about agricultural skills and opportunities to hire or buy more land or cattle.

He has almost severed his links with his second brother. Not only is he in no position to help him, but on the contrary he requires Don Andrés' help. On the other hand, Don Andrés has good relations with his brother the lawyer who lives and works in Guadalajara. His knowledge of law may prove to be useful to Don Andrés some day, and his acquaintance with people in Guadalajara could also be useful.

His relations within the factory are mainly with white-collar workers in his department. One of the white-collar workers formed part of a previous economic strategy of Don Andrés to diversify his investment, but the possibility to buy a plot of land he was renting arose and Don Andrés preferred to invest his money in it.

He generally has good relations with his fellow workers but not with all, as to some he is known as a member of a "rich family" and some of his work mates formerly worked as share-croppers with his maternal family (see Case No.II). Nevertheless, through time, Don Andrés has sought to widen his social network. In the beginning he chose as <u>compadres</u> his relatives, but later he started asking as sponsors to his children's christenings friends in the factory and friends from Tuxpan. Through his attempts of neglecting and severing or of strengthening or initiating social networks we can follow his changing interests and new economic strategies. First when he was starting his industrial career he had to rely more on his family, and his cousins managed to keep him in the factory in spite of his bad behaviour.

At present he is strengthening two different sets of relations: relations within the factory with white-collar employees, and with his maternal kin, as this corresponds to his future investment plans. He needs to link himself with the white-collar employees in order to have some sort of security in the factory, as his relations with his fellow workers are not strong enough due to his family background. He is also keeping a good relationship with his brother the lawyer in

Guadalajara, which could be useful to Don Andrés or to his children who are studying in Guadalajara.

The path followed by Don Andrés' family reveals the process of development through which the region has gone. His grandparents were involved in sharecropping and agriculture as small landowners. This was the period during which haciendas and ranchos prospered through producing for an increasing internal market. The haciendas lost their lands during the land reform and the ranchos were divided through inheritances. Don Andrés' mother received a fraction of the land and this was increased after her marriage by some purchase that her husband, Don Andrés' father, made. Through marriage and inheritance they managed to become small landowners and they still are.

Industrial work opened for Don Andrés the possibility of giving his children the means of achieving upward social mobility, this time not through the purchase of land or industrial jobs but through education. Industrial work for him is seen only as a means of achieving his goals; education for his children and extra land and cattle for himself.

Case II : Don Marcos

Don Marcos is, like Don Andrés, a worker of the paper mill. Nevertheless his life is different from the life of Don Andrés and so are his economic strategies. Don Marcos' life history, again, illustrates the importance of an industrial job in achieving economic betterment. We will also see, through Don Marcos' life, the importance of having good relationships with important members of the Union Executive Committee.

Family background and life before entering industrial work

The paternal grandfather of Don Marcos was born in Pihuamo (head town of the municipality of the same name) around 1850. He was a landless peasant and used to work as a day labourer in agriculture and as a mason. Finally he settled in Tuxpan and started a corner shop. His maternal grandfather came from the municipality of Tuxpan and had worked as the foreman on a ranch. He was killed in 1910 during the revolution. Don Marcos' father was born in Pihuamo in 1890 and when he was 35 years old he arrived in Tuxpan with his father. He was a day labourer and a mason, like his father, but he became a sharecropper in Tuxpan, working for an uncle of Don Andrés. He taught himself how to read. He died when he was 51 years old, leaving Don Marcos aged 11. Don Marcos was born in 1931 in Tuxpan, the seventh of eight children and from being very young he helped his father on the land and in masonry works. His education finished at the 4th year of elementary school. When he became an orphan he started working "seriously" as he had to provide for his mother and youngest sister. The other six brothers were older and were married or working and were unable to help them after Don Marcos' father's death as they had only enough money to support them-

selves and their families. Don Marcos' mother was born in 1898 in the municipality of Tuxpan. She was illiterate and had always worked as a housewife. She died in Tuxpan in 1973.

Don Marcos' first job was as a day labourer in agriculture with his father's boss, and he earned a small salary and three medidas of maize every week. He worked like that from 1939 to 1944. In 1944 he started working on the construction of the paper mill premises. His four brothers were working there and they succeeded in finding a job for their brother as a dish-washer in the building company. They themselves were working as masons. Don Marcos worked as a dishwasher for a year and a half and, when he was a little more than 15 years old, (in 1946) he started working as an apprentice in the hoist (montacargas). On June 12th 1947 he became a regular worker (obtuvo la planta). He was the only one of his four brothers to obtain permanent work in the factory. He explained that this was due to the shortsightedness of his brothers who did not believe in the future of the factory and because they paid too much attention to the propaganda of the priests against unionism, "as they did against agraristas", he said.

From 1947 to 1952 he lived in Tuxpan in a rented house. In 1949 he married Ma. Guadalupe who was born in 1932 in Zapotiltic (head of the municipality of the same name). She had been orphaned at the age of six, when her father died. She was brought up by her grandfather, since her mother had to work as a maid in Tuxpan. She was the only child. Her father was a small landowner but his property was sold by his brothers and they did not give anything to his widow. The grandfather

who brought her up was a sharecropper.

Don Marcos and Doña Lupe had their first son in 1950, but he died when he was 18 months old. In 1952, Cristina, their second child was born. At present they have 11 living children but they have lost eight boys during the first months of life.

In 1953 Don Marcos applied to the paper mill Union to be granted a house in the factory-town. He obtained it and lived there for 16 years. To have a house in the factory-town meant great savings: they did not pay rent, water or electricity and most of the repairs to the premises were made by the factory. After 16 years they moved to Tuxpan because the family had grown so, and there was not enough room for all of them in the factory-town house which was rather small. In 1955 they had a son, Antonio, in 1958 another son, José Marcos, and in 1959 a daughter, Elba Margarita.

Besides working in the factory as a hoist operator, Don Marcos was also employed as the driver of the General Overseer of the factory. This job implied a lot of travelling, mainly to Mexico City, and these travels meant an extra income, since in addition to his salary from the factory he received travel allowances and he never spent all the money. This extra job lasted from 1953 to 1957.

From 1958 to 1962, he was no longer working as the General Overseer's driver and he used his spare time driving a taxi. He drove the Atenquique-Tuxpan route. The owner of the car gave him 20% of the profits, and Don Marcos shared the money with a partner as he could not cover the time by himself due

to his job in the paper mill. He stopped this complementary work in 1962 and until 1965 he had no extra economic activity.

In 1961, he had another daughter, María Guadalupe, and in 1962 another one, María del Refugio. In 1962 he decided to buy a plot of land in Tuxpan with the idea of building a house, since the one in Atenquique was becoming too small for his rapidly increasing family. In 1965 his son, Martín Fulgencio was born and in 1966 a daughter, María de Jesus. During these two years he tried his hand at agriculture as he had the good luck to find available land to rent. He asked a compadre to help him and they were going to share the profits. The plot was private property and the deal was done a la cuarta parte, which meant that the owner provided the seeds and manure, and they had to put in the labour. At the end of the harvest they received a quarter of the profits. As Don Marcos thought that the business was going to last a long time and the plot was a large one (more or less 20 hectares) he bought a truck to carry supplies and the labourers. He hired an average of 20 day labourers for the sowing and weeding and an average of 40 for the harvest as this had to be done very quickly. Don Marcos and his compadres made good profits during the three years they were able to cultivate the plot. Unfortunately, after three years the plot became part of an ejido. During the years 1968 and 69, with his savings from his industrial work and the profits made in agriculture, he started building his house. He could save in the transport of building materials as he obtained the permission to use the truck he drove in the factory. In 1969 he moved with his family to the new house and that same year he had another daughter, Angelica María, and in 1970 another one,

Norma Delia. Since 1970 he has not had any economic activity complementary to his job in the paper mill.

In 1973, his mother died. She had always depended upon him. She lived in Tuxpan and he paid her rent and maintenance. In 1974 his last daughter was born. She was the eleventh and called Xochitl Florentina. The period during which Don Marcos stopped having complementary economic activities coincided with the Presidency of Luis Echeverría - a populist Government - that allowed the salaries to increase considerably, and this can perhaps explain why Don Marcos did not look for a complementary job. The salary earned at the factory satisfied the needs of his family and allowed him to make some savings. In addition, his financial situation had been eased by his 21 years old daughter working and in 1971 his son joined the factory. At present Don Marcos is building a second floor to his house.

Don Marcos has to support his wife and nine children. Cristina the eldest is newly married but had previously worked in a typewriter factory in Guadalajara and then in a garment shop as a sales assistant. She has elementary education. Antonio, the second, is also married. He finished secondary school and then started working in the mill in 1971. José Marcos is studying in the third year of Mechanical Engineering in the University of Guadalajara. When José Marcos started doing his pre-University course in Guadalajara, Don Marcos, foreseeing that more of his children would want to go to study in Guadalajara, decided to invest in a plot of land and a house there so as to save money in boarding houses and as an investment.

José Marcos also has a permanent job in Atenquique. Don Marcos gave the second job, he had the right to have, to José Marcos as a security step. Don Marcos knew that his son wanted to continue his studies but he thought that in case he could not support him any more he should be protected. José Marcos works in the mill during his school holidays. He works 22 days and renews his leave of absence for another six months period. When he has finished his studies he hopes to find a better job and then he will abandon the paper mill.

Elba Margarita has just finished her pre-University course in Guadalajara and she is waiting for her admission to the School of Medicine in the University of Guadalajara. María Guadalupe finished secondary school in Tuxpan and at present she is doing secretarial training also in Tuxpan, in a private institute. She does not want to study anything else. She wants to start working.

María del Refugio is also in Guadalajara with her brother José Marcos and her sister Elba Margarita. She is starting her pre-University course and has a scholarship from the factory. Martín Fulgencio is studying in the first year of secondary school in Tuxpan, as is María de Jesus. Angelica María is in the fourth year of elementary school, Norma Delia is in the second year and Xochitl, the last one, has not yet started school.

Don Marcos and his wife want to give their children as much education as possible. But they reckon that they will be happy if they see the younger ones finish elementary school. Don Marcos intends to stay in the factory until retirement and hopes to save

as much money as possible for the future. He uses the savings club of the factory when he is short of cash. The interests on the loans are very low (1%) and you can borrow double the amount you have saved. Don Marcos has bought himself a car and recently has bought a VW for his son in Guadalajara. He bought it very cheap from a friend at the mill who was in an "apuro" (needing money urgently).

His main expenses are on education and food. Doña María Guadalupe goes to Guadalajara every fortnight to bring groceries and meat for her children. Don Marcos has already made some plans for the future when he retires from the mill. He would like to buy or rent a plot of land but he reckons that this is rather difficult as land is scarce and demand is great. Knowing that, he has preferred to invest some of his savings in urban real estate. It is a good investment which increases in value with time. At present the house in Guadalajara is helping him to save in rents in boarding houses, but it also plays a role in his future economic plans. He wants to buy a truck and travel between Tuxpan and Guadalajara carrying building materials or other kinds of goods.

Don Marcos' network of social relations

Don Marcos' life career has developed since his early childhood (from when he was 13 years old) around the paper mill where he started work on the construction of the premises and during all his life he has been involved in work there. Only twice has he tried to diversify his economic activities. At one time he established an agricultural partnership with a compadre who had some capital to pay part of the labour they needed to help with

the farming as it was rather a large plot (around 20 hectares). This compadre had to supervise the day labourers and do some jobs in the plot as Don Marcos had to be at the mill eight hours a day. This compadre was not a member of his kin group, as none of them had enough capital to start a business like that. Hence his work in Atenquique necessitated sharing his business with somebody else as he did not have enough time and none of his children were old enough to help him. When he hired the plot his eldest son was ten years old and was attending school. So he chose close friends or compadres to help him. Likewise, with the taxi business it was a close friend who shared the work with him. Don Marcos explained that to share a taxi cab with somebody you must know him very well as there is no way to control the income, or the exact expenses in petrol and maintenance of the car. The friend must be a good driver and a responsible person. Don Marcos put more capital into the purchase of the truck, but he put in less work as he had to cover his job in Atenquique.

Besides these two attempts to economically diversify, Don Marcos has been unable to find another plot of land to hire or to buy so he has been investing in urban real estate and in the education of his children. His plans for the future reflect some of the features of the area: scarcity of land and investment possibilities limited to small-scale informal enterprise. Don Marcos will take advantage of the new insertion of the region into the national economy as a producer for the external market and importer of goods to be consumed in the area. As Veerkamp (in de la Peña et al.,1977) has shown, commercial activities are very important in the area, and Don Marcos intends to retire to devote himself to some sort of commercial activity.

Don Marcos' main social network has been developed within the factory. He has always tried to establish good relationships with his fellow workers and with the white-collar employees. Driving for the General Overseer was very rewarding as he was able to establish a close personal relationship with him. It was due to this relationship that, when Don Marcos started building his house in Atenquique, he was allowed to use the truck he drove for the paper mill. He carried in it the construction materials and labour he needed. He also obtained a factory house in Atenquique during his service as a driver to the General Overseer. As I have said, the demand for houses in Atenquique is very high and to be granted one means a big saving in rent, electricity, water and maintenance. Don Marcos also tried and succeeded in establishing goods relations with the Union leaders. This was more evident in the last two-year period when the General Secretary of the Union's Executive Committee happened to be Don Marcos' cousin (II C 29). During this period (1975-76), Don Marcos obtained special favours granted to him by his cousin. For example, his daughter, María del Refugio, is receiving a scholarship awarded by the factory to the 'sons' of workers who have done well at school. The Contrato Colectivo says that children, either boys or girls, of workers are entitled to compete for such scholarships, but the scholarships have always been awarded to boys as this was conceived of as a kind of preparation for future workers of the factory. María del Refugio was the first girl to be awarded a scholarship.

His son, José Marcos, is working in the factory under a very special scheme. Once more the Contrato Colectivo says that a leave of absence for as long as six months can be given in the

working life of a worker but only after a year of regular work in the mill.* But José Marcos is considered as a regular worker and since 1975 when he "entered" the factory he has only worked 22 days every six months. We can also assume that the second job granted to Don Marcos (two of his sons are now working in the factory) was also a favour from the General Secretary of the Union, although we cannot be sure as seniority is also a criterion. By that time Don Marcos had 28 years of seniority. On the other hand, there is evidence from other workers that seniority is not always respected, whether in the granting of jobs to the workers' sons or in the granting of scholarships or in promotions up the occupational ladder.

Another irregular happening in Don Marcos' working life is his promotion through a change of department. This promotion happened during his cousin's time in office. This is rather awkward, since one of the main complaints of the workers in top jobs is that once they get there there is nothing else to look forward to. They even try to promote the idea that for the next negotiation of the Contrato Colectivo workers in top jobs should be allowed to become white-collar employees. So the promotion of Don Marcos to a better paid job, in a different department from the one he had been working in for the last 22 years, has all the characteristics of being a very special favour from his cousin. This is even more significant if we remember that, when Don Marcos retires, he will be receiving his last salary level, so this promotion is very important as Don Marcos is only six years or so from retirement. On top of all this, Don Miguel, Don Marcus' cousin, had obtained, out of the negotiation of

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* See Case No.I, Hilario, Don Andrés' son, is going to work for a year in the factory and then he will ask for permission to go to Guadalajara and then reapply to the Flying School.

Contrato Colectivo, an 8% increase in salary on account of the number of machines they have to lubricate. It was the first time that such a thing had resulted from the negotiation of Contrato Colectivo, as usually all the requests and claims of the workers were dealt with once a year in the case of salaries, and once every two years in the case of other changes to the Contrato Colectivo as a whole.

We can see, then, that Don Marcos benefitted substantially from his cousin's time in office.

Comments

In contrast to the life of Don Andrés (Case No.I), Don Marcos' life is wholly centered around the paper mill. His attempts at diversification were of short duration. The difference lies in the fact that Don Marcos has never had permanent access to land so he had to rely completely on his salary from the factory and on the side benefits that his industrial work and his relationship with Don Miguel could offer him. He has used all the facilities that the mill can provide him with: medical services, housing, schooling and access to the loans of the caja de ahorros.

On the other hand, Don Marcos is a main supporter of Don Miguel and his politics. There has never been a better General Secretary of the Union: none has fought so well as Don Miguel for the interests of the workers, and none has achieved so many important things in such a short time. Besides his important relationship with the actual General Secretary of the Union, Don Marcos has relations of compadrazgo with two blue-collar workers. One of them is in the lubrication department, to which Don Marcos

was promoted, and the other works in his former department where he spent 22 years of his industrial career. He is also compadre to a white-collar employee. His other compadres, and he has many, due to many children, are relatives and friends from Tuxpan.

Again, Don Marcos' family background and life reflect the changes that the region has undergone. Don Marcos' paternal family was of landless peasants who hired themselves out as day labourers in the area. Don Marcos' grandfather was native from Pihuamo (a municipality south of Tuxpan) and finally he settled in Tuxpan where he ran a corner shop. On the other hand, his maternal grandfather worked as foreman (capataz) on a ranch and was killed during the revolution. The land was owned by landowners who worked it through sharecroppers and peones (day labourers) whose work was supervised by a foreman. Don Marcos' father was, as his father had been before him, a day labourer, but when they finally settled in Tuxpan he became a sharecropper of one of the families who owned land in the area. This family happened to be the maternal family of Don Andrés (Case No.I).

Don Marcos also started working very young as a day labourer and he did that until he entered industrial work. That was the great difference. If we compare his life with that of his brothers, we can notice (see genealogy) that they work as masons and have migrated to Guadalajara or Colima (II C 3, 4, 5, 8). Don Marcos explained the fact that his brothers did not become industrial workers, saying that they were affected by the anti-Union ideology that the priests were spreading.

Since Don Marcos started to work in the factory his standard of living has radically improved. He now has a house, a car and several of his children are attending, or planning to attend, University. To achieve his aims, Don Marcos has put into practice different strategies: one of these was to use his skills as a driver and the other to invest in agriculture. Unfortunately land in the area is very scarce and the extension of an ejido near Atenquique put an end to his agricultural enterprise. Now he is compelled to turn all his expectations and plans towards the paper mill and to try to make the best of it. We can see how he has built a network of social relations that has allowed him to pursue these aims in an optimal way.

His plans for the future reveal an important structural feature of the area: the importance of commerce and transport for exporting the produce of the area and for importing what the area lacks or has stopped producing due to its predominant external orientation. These dimensions will become more apparent through the later analysis of the genealogies.

Case III : Don José

Don José is a worker at the cement factory. His life history illustrates another kind of economic strategy which results from having different needs. Don José entered industrial work rather late and has a large family and previous connections with the ejido of El Rincón where he was born and still lives.

Family background and life before entering industrial work

Don José is presently a worker at the cement factory La Tolteca. He is from El Rincón, a former hacienda and sugar mill situated near the factory, where he still lives. His paternal and maternal grandparents were also from El Rincón where they worked as peasants and workers at the sugar mill. Likewise, his father worked at the hacienda and sugar mill. He was born in 1900 and worked in the hacienda until the agrarian reform of 1936, when he became an ejidatario. The father had some elementary education, and migrated once (1942) to the USA near Philadelphia to work in the sugar beet fields. When he came back to El Rincón he started a butchers business. His mother was also born in El Rincón in 1905. She finished the third year of elementary school and worked all her life as a housewife.

Don José was born in 1931 and since his early childhood he helped his father on the land. He was the eldest of eight children. He liked to work in the fields. He and his father cleared and cultivated an average of 10 hectares of land. This was possible because the final distribution of the ejido had not yet been completed. As the Banco Ejidal did not then exist they asked for financial help from rich moneylenders in Zapotiltic.

They sowed peanuts and corn. With the sale of the peanuts they paid the credit, but sometimes, when the peanuts didn't grow very well, it was not enough and they had to sell corn as well. They ploughed with a team of oxen and used animals to transport the peanuts and corn as there was no road to the plot. From 1938 to 1944, Don José Guadalupe went to the elementary school in El Rincón and continued to help his father in the cultivation of the 12 hectares, made up of their own and two rented plots. He finished elementary school. From 1944 to 1947 he worked only on the 12 hectare plot.

In 1947, when he was 16 years old, he went with one of his uncles (III B 36) to Campeche and worked there for three months at a sugar mill (La Joya) cutting and loading sugar cane. His uncle remained in Campeche.

In 1948, back in El Rincón, he helped his father to cultivate 24 hectares. They worked their own plot, the plots of four persons unrelated to them who had migrated to the USA, and the school plot. To work the plots they hired either three teams of oxen or a tractor. This lasted until 1955. During this period a great number of El Rincón natives were migrating due to the closure of the sugar mill in 1951. The closure of the mill of El Rincon, as with the closure of other mills in the area (i.e. Santa Cruz), was due to the increasing importance acquired by the Tamazula mill. This mill had the capacity to process the total sugar cane production of the region. So small sugar mills such as El Rincón became redundant (see Escobar and González de la Rocha, 1979). Those that worked there as labourers received some money as indemnity (severance pay)

and the house where they were living, but this was not enough to provide a living. They were forced to migrate. Likewise, other families had to migrate because the land alone was not sufficient and they had complemented their income with the salary from the sugar mill. Don José worked out that during this time an average of 400 persons migrated, and that at present there are 20 families living in the USA. Others went to Sonora and Sinaloa. In 1955 his mother died and a little later his father married again and moved into his new wife's house. José remained in the paternal house with his brothers and they took care of the plot which his father left him. The father was able to make a living from the butchery. As Don José had always helped his father in the fields and because his father knew he liked to work in the fields and had never taken corn or money without asking permission, a thing his brothers had done frequently, Don José's father decided to give the ejidal plot to Don José and the house to his brothers. Don José received the help of his younger brothers. In the same year Don José built a dirt road to his plot to be able to carry the harvest out in a truck. It had become more expensive to hire animals than to hire a truck.

In 1956 he married Severa Chacón, a native of El Rincón who was born in 1936. She was literate having completed four years of elementary school. Her family worked as labourers in the sugar mill and presently they are migrant day labourers. She has three cousins working in La Tolteca. During 1956 Don José cultivated, in addition to his own plot, the plot of the school. He sowed six hectares with corn and two hectares with peanuts. He had to support nine persons, made up of his brothers,

his wife and himself.

In 1957 he had his first child, and decided to migrate temporarily to the USA to the sugar beet fields near Philadelphia. His father had previously done so. Don José sowed the plot and sold a cow and some pigs to pay the bus fare and the "pasada" (bribe to the border authorities). He worked in the sugar beet fields of a sugar factory for a period of three months. When he returned he brought with him enough money to buy a house next to the paternal house. He paid only 300 pesos for this house because it was in very bad condition. After making some repairs, he moved there with his wife and his newborn son, Gonzalo. His brothers (III C 13-15-19-11-26), who later migrated to Guadalajara and the USA, did not move with him.

In 1958 he repeated the experience. He sowed the plot and went to the USA, but this time he worked in the sugar factory. There he learned how to work with conveyors, tractors and how to operate the washing machines. This was a very important experience and one that proved decisive in the future. He was very impressed by the efficiency and the good planning of the North American factories. When he came back, three months later, he had saved 3000 pesos. He had also sent money back for his family's maintenance, had brought back a sewing machine worth 40 dollars, a radio, clothes for his wife and sons, dolls for his god-daughters, and two pistols. He did not have any trouble at the customs as he gave a bribe of 50 pesos and distributed Camel cigarettes. To pay for this second trip, he sold the corn he had bought in advance (al tiempo) with the money saved during the first migration. In this year, 1958, José Guadalupe, his second son, was born.

In 1959 he tried to migrate once more, but this time things did not work out. He sold some animals to pay for the bus fare and for the bribes at the border but he was unable to pass and had to come back, and lost all the money. Moreover he fell ill and was unable to work in the sun on the plot. He therefore started a business, in partnership with a friend from Tamazula, who had a truck. He used his savings, some 4000 pesos, to travel the surrounding villages buying dairy goats to start a herd. He succeeded in buying 20 animals. He then started a business selling milk, cheese and birria. He worked in this business for eight months until his health improved and he could once more start working on the plot. He sold the goats so as to rent a plot and make some improvements to his house. He had to rent an additional plot because during his illness his father had taken over his plot for two years, in exchange for a loan of 3,800.00 pesos. However, later Don José did not have the money to recover it. In 1960, the year in which he rented the plot he earned nothing from it because he first had to clear it. In addition, he did other complementary jobs. He went to Tuxpan to weed the sugar cane and to Cd. Guzmán where he watered the sugar cane. Sugar cane was a new crop in this area and they didn't know how to irrigate it. He would go for the whole week to save on fares, and was accompanied by his father-in-law and brothers-in-law. He also worked in El Cortijo on the sugar cane, weeding and cutting it on the hillsides where the cutting-machines could not be used. He also used to carry the cane to the trucks when they couldn't get close to the plots. And sometimes, when he couldn't find any work, he went to the woodlands to find dry wood to sell. In the second year (1961) he started earning money

from his plot. This same year he had a daughter, Ma. Olga and, in 1962, a fourth daughter, Maria Elena. By carrying on with his supplementary activities he was able to buy three cows and a mare.

In 1963 his father died from a cancerous ulcer and Don José had to meet all the expenses of the illness and the funeral. He had to face that alone because his brothers were at the time working in the USA. He had also to help the widow and his three half-brothers. His father died leaving the plot rented out and with a debt of 3,800.00 pesos. But, in spite of this, Don José was determined to recover the plot and he gave the tenant and moneylender two cows in calf, yet he remained owing 800.00 pesos. He sowed the plot with sweet potatoes but they didn't grow very well and he only earned 500.00 pesos. This amount he paid to the moneylender plus a mare with colt, and thus the debt was paid off. But this left Don José with only one cow.

In 1963 his wife gave birth to a stillborn child and, in 1964, he had a fifth son, Eleazar. This year he lost the only cow he had left. It fell over a precipice. Don José had been thinking of selling it to buy seeds for the plot. This left him without money and without anything to serve as a guarantee for credit. Fortunately he was able to find a moneylender who took his land as guarantee and advanced him money. He was lucky that year. The crop was a good one and he repaid the debt and paid off part of the price for the paternal house which he decided to buy from his brothers. His brothers were living in Guadalajara and sold it to him for 6,500.00 pesos. Although it was in rather bad condition, he finally paid double the value of the house

because he felt obliged to help his brothers. They had been unable to find good jobs in Guadalajara. In 1963 one of his brothers got married and to help him he sold a pig and some goats. In 1966 his sixth daughter, Emma, was born and in 1967 his wife had another stillborn child.

Industrial work

In 1968 and 1969 he worked on the building of the cement factory. He took this job so that he could save some money and not be dependent only on his plot. With the money he saved and with the sale of some animals he made some improvements to the house and bought a cupboard for the kitchen. In 1969 his seventh son, Cesar, was born.

In 1970 he had the opportunity to take a job in the cement factory as a worker. He filled in the application but had some trouble because the factory was only accepting workers under 30 years of age. However, his experience in the USA and Campeche helped him to obtain the job. He knew how to work with conveyors, and goods wagons and Tolteca needed this kind of knowledge. After an examination Don José was accepted by the factory. Thus he entered by legal means and not like other workers, who faked birth certificates, and were helped by the Union leaders. His first job was loading the goods wagon. Thus, from 1971 to 1976 he had a stable working career at the cement factory. He was promoted and is presently expecting a further promotion. In 1973 he had his eighth and last son, Noé.

The material life of Don José and his family improved considerably and quite quickly once he started working in the

factory. He has carried out several improvements to the house. In 1975 he completely rebuilt the two houses making a single unit with foundations strong enough to support a three-storey building. He also bought new furniture and electrical appliances. Likewise, he bought several used cars and at present owns a Volkswagen van.

In 1976 he had the opportunity to enrol one of his sons in the cement factory. He gave this job to his second child, José Guadalupe, who showed no aptitude for studying. He had only managed to complete elementary school and his father saw in the Tolteca work the means to insure a good life for him. He is now working as an unskilled worker.

Since Don José started working in the factory he has only cultivated the four hectares plot he inherited from his father. He sows it with corn, beans and pumpkins. To do the work he hires a tractor. This tractor belongs to a brother of Don José's mother (III B 25) and his sons (III C 101-102-107). They are ejidatarios and through savings obtained by migrating to the USA have managed to buy some private land and a tractor. They rent out this tractor to other ejidatarios.

He uses the labour of his children and, in addition, he hires two or three young boys. He prefers children as labourers because they are paid 30% less than adults. As he puts it , "They do the same work and do not complain of back ache!" He sells some of the corn he produces and keeps the remainder for family consumption. In the past he used the corn stubble to feed his goats but they have now all died following some sickness. He now sells it.

The pumpkin he grows is of the type whose seeds are used to make oil and soap. The women of the household are in charge of extracting the seeds and putting them out to dry. Each kilo of seeds fetches 23 pesos. Don José has worked out that he can earn 2,000 pesos in a good year. The pumpkins that are too small, and whatever is left over from the big ones, is used to feed the pigs that Doña Severa breeds. The beans are used for family consumption.

During the harvest, he hires his father- and brothers-in-law. Doña Severa's family had been mill workers who became day labourers when the mill closed. Don José helps them by hiring them during the harvest and giving them some of the corn and beans. His land is of good quality and he has had very good harvests, 3.64 tons per hectare in a good year, but the average is about 2.8 tons or 2.5 tons per hectare.

Don José's network of social relations

As a member of la comunidad ejidal Don José has been able to develop friendship links with the authorities of the ejido. He is friends with the comisariado ejidal of Zapotiltic municipio, to which El Rincón is attached, and with the son of the comisariado who was the presidente municipal of Zapotiltic at the time of the survey. He has also been the treasurer of the ejido. At present he is using these links to lobby for a secondary school in El Rincón. He is collecting signatures of the inhabitants interested in having a secondary school and he is planning to use his friendship with the presidente municipal to get their help to found a school. Meanwhile he has succeeded in getting several short courses established by the municipal government, free of charge,

in the Casa Ejidal. Dressmaking and confectionary are among them. Don José's interest in the creation of the secondary school is due to the fact that he has two daughters who have finished elementary school and want to carry on their education, but Don José and his wife consider that it is dangerous to send young girls in a bus to the nearest town, Zapotiltic, to attend school. Don José is very concerned that they complete their secondary education so they can attend the school for nurses training in Cd. Guzman. He is convinced that his two daughters will be admitted to this school as the present director is a doctor who is his comadre. She was the godmother of Ma. Olga (III D 4) on her 15th birthday. Don José became a compadre of this doctor through the mediation of his brother (III D 13) who is a cabinet maker in Guadalajara. One of the brothers of the doctor is brother-in-law to Don José's brother. The relationship with this family has been fruitful for Don José. In 1977, when Gonzalo was applying to enter the School of Medicine in the Universidad de Guadalajara he just failed to obtain the marks required to enter, but fortunately another brother of the doctor was at that time the Rector of the University and helped to solve the problem. Gonzalo is presently finishing the first year of medicine.

He is also using his kinship links in Guadalajara. His brothers who live there are housing his son Gonzalo. They are also in regular contact because of one of Don José's plans is to buy a plot of land in order to build a house in Guadalajara. Maybe his other children in a few years will go to study in Guadalajara and it will be cheaper to have a house for them where they can cook and not have to spend money on rent and board.

It is clear that Don José aims to give his children as much education as possible.

Another of his plans for the future, when he retires, is to buy some land near El Rincón, but he reckons that due to the shortage of land available this will be very difficult. He has more hope in hiring an ejidal plot. This is due, it seems, to his relations with the ejidal authorities and because, as a member of the comunidad ejidal, he is likely to receive early information about who wants to lease a plot as they are migrating, or because of illness, or because they need money.

He maintains good relations with his brothers. They help each other when they need money or information. The children of the brothers in Guadalajara come to Don José's house for holidays and Don José's children go to Guadalajara. Don José helped them a lot in the beginning of their stay in Guadalajara, when they had not yet found suitable jobs. He helped them also when they got married, providing a pig and goats for the feast. Don José has also maintained good relations with his in-laws, and they help each other when they can. Don José hires them for the harvest and, besides the wages they earn, he gives them some corn and beans, and lends them money. They take care of Don José's plot when he can not obtain leave of absence from the factory during the harvest period or when there is some urgent job such as fertilizing and weeding to be done. As he lives in El Rincón which is a small and traditional community, he has to keep good relations with neighbours and maintain status. He also contributes to the religious fiestas and mayordomías which they celebrate.

In the factory he has good contact with the white-collar employees, with whom he interacts daily. He has particularly good relations with one engineer who has helped him to study the handbooks for the promotional exams he must pass. This engineer has also influenced Don José's views about education. He told him that "education is the best legacy" and that is what Don José stresses he is trying to give to his children.

In the Union he has been the deputy to the General Secretary during the period 1972-73. That was his only post in the Union but nevertheless he retains good relations with Union members. He has played an important part in the promotion of sports activities among the Tolteca workers. He has been the president of the football club for two years and on two occasions was deputy president. Among his fellow workers he has three compadres. They all work in his department and one is a mechanic. He has, in addition, a compadre who is a white-collar employee in the book-keeping department. They share information and exchange services.

Comments

The life career of Don José and his family illustrates the repercussions that changes in the structure of the area have on the lives of its inhabitants. His grandparents were born in El Rincón and spent all their lives there, working for the hacendados as peasants or as workers in the sugar mill. The life of Don José's father denotes the agrarian transformation of the area, from a peón (day labourer) on the hacienda, to becoming an ejidatario. He complemented his income by starting a butchers business in El Rincón to provide the ejidatario

community with meat. But he was able to start this business because he accumulated some savings from temporary migration to the USA. He was now a free worker, not indentured any more to the hacienda. The flow of migrants (braceros) was legalised by the US Government in 1942. Mexican labour was necessary to the USA to help with the agricultural harvest and with the construction of the roads. This labour shortage arose because of the absence of men on military service during the Second World War (Whetten, 1948: 27, quoted in de la Peña, 1980: 158 footnote).

Since early childhood Don José was obliged to help his father in the fields. Thanks to the butchers business Don José's father was able to rent the plots of absentee ejidatarios who had migrated to the USA. These processes were reinforced as the region was invaded by the enclave industries and agro-industries which did little to improve the employment situation in the area. The migration flows increased to the USA and to the main cities of the region and the country (Cd. Guzman, Guadalajara, Mexico City) and to the North-East where newly opened up land required a labour force.

The penetration of the State into the area was not, however, completed by the time the ejido was formed. This is shown by the fact that Don José's father was obliged to ask for money from a rich moneylender of Zapotiltic in order to finance the sowing of commercial crops. Since then the State has created the Banco Ejidal which is in charge of providing the ejidatarios with credit for necessary inputs. These commercial crops are not destined for the regional market and Don José is obliged to change crop when the market is invaded by produce produced more cheaply in

other regions. This was the case with peanuts. To produce peanuts was a profitable business until the market was invaded by cheaper produce from the North-East.

The increasing demographic pressure on the family is another important factor in explaining migration. This was a reason why Don José's father decided to send him to Campeche on temporary migration: there were now few possibilities of finding jobs in the area. Don José returned in 1948. In this year many persons from El Rincón were migrating and this wave continued until 1951, the year in which the sugar mill closed down definitively. The closure of the sugar mill of El Rincón and of other small sugar mills was another sign of the economic disruption undergone by the region.

Don José's father who, with the possibility of renting the plots of the migrants because of capital provided by the butchery business, with his own plot and the money brought back by Don José from Campeche, was able to corner 24 hectares of land. They did that until 1955 when Don José's mother died and the partnership between Don José and his father came to an end.

From 1956 on, Don José, besides cultivating the plot he inherited from his father, had migrated temporarily to the USA to make both ends meet for his growing family. The increasing disintegration of the area gave few employment opportunities. Then in the 1960's when the Mexican and American governments agreed to cut down the flow of Mexican migrants to the USA, Don José had no further chance to migrate. This initiated a difficult period for him of poorly paid temporary jobs.

At this point, Don José's life underwent a complete change when he was able to enter the cement industry. The enclave industries in the area are, as Don José puts it, "God's Gift" for those who are lucky enough to find work in them. Their impact on the lives of the workers is quite visible from Don José's case. Since he entered the industry he has improved his standard of living and that of his family considerably.

Yet, in spite of this, the economic structure of the area gives few opportunities for local investment. Don José's plans for the future show that his expectations are reduced to investing in his children's education, and, if possible, in land. But because of the shortage of land and the increasing control over cultivable land by the agro-industries, Don José has few chances of purchasing land. He has more hope of renting some in the ejido. This is also generally very difficult but,due to his network and his access to information,he has more chance than others.

Through Don José's life history we can identify the different phases of change in the structure of the area. Activities and strategies have varied from one generation to the other (peón, ejidatario, industrial worker, doctor), dependent upon the economic and social conditions of the region and sometimes, as well, of the country as a whole. These changes will be further documented in Chapter VII when occupational, migration and educational data on a large number of individuals give a more comprehensive picture.

Let us now comment on Don José's social network and the way he uses it to improve his life.

Don José's early economic career was closely linked to that of his father. This partnership lasted until Don José's mother died and his father remarried. From then on Don José had to work for himself and his brothers and, when he married, for his own family as well. There was a period when he had to support, with the help of his younger brothers, nine persons.

His first migrational experience (when he was 13 years old) was with a maternal uncle, who took Don José with him at the request of his father. Don José helped his father and always handed to him the money he earned. In return for this Don José's father transferred to him, as a kind of anticipatory inheritance, the ejidal plot, leaving the house to his brothers. Don José is the only one of his brothers who remained in El Rincón. All his brothers were later forced to migrate to Guadalajara or the USA. Only Don José had the means to support himself there. Later, however, when he married and his family started to expand, he was obliged to complement his income by temporary migration to the USA. Besides that, he continued to cultivate the school plot. The school plot is ejidal property that the comunidad ejidal agrees to cultivate for the benefit of the school (maintenance, etc.) and the teachers. It is supposed to be cultivated by all the ejidatarios on a communal and voluntary basis. However, there are some arrangements between the comisariado ejidal and some ejidatarios. The comisariado agrees to rent the plot to one ejidatario. Don José and his father, and later Don José alone, cornered the cultivation of this school plot for many years. The relationship with the comisariado ejidal has always been very good and lasts until today. One particular comisariado has continued

in the post for many periods. Also in 1978 his son was the Municipal President in Zapotiltic.

While Don José was in the USA, his family-in-law, who were formerly sugar mill workers and were now day labourers, looked after the plot. This co-operation with his family-in-law still continues and they help Don José with the harvest. When Don José was obliged to hire himself as a day labourer in 1960 he went around with his family-in-law. They took him with them as they already knew where to go to find jobs. They had been doing that for years ever since the closure of the sugar mill.

As none of his relatives or friends in El Rincón had enough money to offer him a loan to recover his father's plot, he had to appeal to moneylenders of Zapotiltic. He has always paid his debts and he has, presumably, a good relationship and good credit standing with them as they frequently advance him money without any guarantee.

Don José has always tried to maintain good relations with his brothers despite this entailing big expenses: for instance, he paid them twice the value of the paternal house they had inherited. These good relations have proved to be increasingly useful as his brothers settled in Guadalajara. Through them he enlarged his social network and his sources of information. This gave support to his children studying there.

From the time he entered industrial work, Don José has tried to establish good relations both with his superiors and with his work mates, including Union leaders. He knows he has much to gain by doing so. Another feature of Don José's set of relationships that strike one's attention is the time and money he invests

in maintaining good relations with the community where he lives. This contrasts with other Tolteca or Atenquique workers who have broken their relationships with the community and, in some cases, even with their relatives as they considered these ties to be negative for their economic careers. Don José maintains these kinds of relations and participates actively in mayordomías and fiestas, and is very active in the comunidad ejidal.

This behaviour can be explained in several ways. When Don José entered industrial work he was already 38 years old and had established lasting and sound relationships which were not easily broken. Besides that he is conscious that he is extremely lucky in having an ejidal plot as well as industrial work, while so many of his friends and relatives have nothing. He feels in some ways that this is not fair and this is one of the reasons he tries to keep good relations with the comunidad ejidal. When I first met Don José he denied that he was an ejidatario. He insisted that he only lived from his industrial salary. Later, when I told him that I knew that he was an ejidatario, he once more denied the fact, and said that the plot belonged to his youngest child, who had inherited it from his grandfather. Finally when "confianza" was established between us, he confessed that he had the plot and that he had denied this fact because he thought I was an inspector from the Government who wanted to denounce persons who had two sources of income. He is also aware of the danger of having troubles with the community. Even if it has no legal basis, life could become difficult for Don José if he spoiled his good relations with the comunidad ejidal.

Don José is now trying to make the best of his different sets of relations: the old ones with his family and the community, the new ones in Guadalajara through his brothers and his educated children, and in his new work context, the cement factory in La Tolteca. He was 47 years old in 1978 and he knew that within 13 years he would be retiring. Hence the necessity of maintaining good relations within the factory, with the white-collar staff and with fellow workers and the Union. He has to achieve as much as possible in the years he has left of his industrial career. This is also true of the comunidad where he lives and where he has a plot, since his plans for the future involve keeping and cultivating the plot and, if possible, expanding his cultivable area by renting or buying more land. He wishes to leave the plot to one of his sons, Noé, the youngest, just in case Don José does not live long enough to see his son through to a level of education that will allow him to find a good job outside El Rincón.

Case IV : Don Camerino

Don Camerino works at the cement factory. Unlike Don José, he started his industrial career early in life. He has never had access to land and has given most of his attention to his work and relationships in the cement factory. Nevertheless he is interested in investing in agriculture if he has the opportunity. So he does not neglect his network of relationships that prove useful to such an enterprise.

Family background and life before entering industrial work

Don Camerino's family are not native to El Rincón. His paternal and maternal grandparents came from San Marcos in the municipality of Tonila. San Marcos was a hacienda with a sugar mill. His grandparents were workers in the sugar mill. We do not know the reason why they left San Marcos to come to El Rincón but probably they came to work in the El Rincón sugar mill. They were born around 1880 and they witnessed the agrarian reform and became ejidatarios.

Don Camerino's father was born in El Rincón in 1913. He is now 65 years old and is still working as an ejidatario. He is illiterate. Don Camerino's mother was also born in El Rincón in 1909 and has some years of elementary schooling. She always worked as a housewife.

Don Camerino was born in 1942 and is 36 years old. He only completed four years of elementary school in El Rincón (1947-1950). In 1950, when he was eight years old, he started helping his father in the fields. They sowed four hectares with maize and tried to cultivate sugar cane for three years but it did not work and so

they continued to grow maize. In 1954, when his father abandoned his mother, Don Camerino and his brother stopped helping their father. Don Camerino's brother, who is seven years older, remained in El Rincón working as a day labourer. Don Camerino himself went to work with an enterprise located in Guadalajara who undertook drilling deep wells. In 1957 he came back to El Rincón and started working as an apprentice in a garage in Zapotiltic. The owner of the garage also ran a breakdown service and, besides learning some mechanics, Don Camerino learnt to drive. The owner of the garage was, at the same time, the President of Zapotiltic Football Club. He saw Don Camerino playing football and invited him to take part in the club team. Don Camerino worked in the garage until 1960. In 1961, the Director of the Football Club of Guadalajara (one of the most important in the country) saw him playing and invited him to play for them. Don Camerino accepted the offer and came to Guadalajara to live with his aunts (IV B 22-20-17-15) who agreed to give him accomodation and food while he tried his luck in professional football. He received little money from the football club, just enough to pay his fares to El Rincón where he came quite often as he was in love with a girl who lived there. He spent two years in Guadalajara but finally came back to El Rincón because he was unsuccessful in becoming a full-time football player. He was only a reserve and got tired of always sitting on the bench. In 1963 he returned to El Rincón and started working as a bus driver on the Zapotiltic/El Rincón route. The owner of the bus company was a friend of Don Camerino's family. His skill as a driver, obtained while an apprentice in the garage, was important in getting him this job. He worked in

the bus company until 1969. The salary was not very good but, as Don Camerino put it, "I was much better off than the majority of the inhabitants of El Rincón because at least it was a regular income."

When the cement factory was being built, the actual road to the factory from Zapotiltic did not exist and the machinery and personnel had to be driven on a dirt road which passed through El Rincón. Through driving masons and contractors to and fro, Don Camerino found out that the factory was requiring labour.

Industrial work

He applied for a job and was recommended by a friend, also native to El Rincón, who was the Security Chief at the plant. In 1970 he started to work in the enterprise in the Patio de Materiales (raw materials yard). Very soon he had problems with the foreman and before being sacked (there was no Union to defend him), he resigned. He then went back to the bus company and worked there for a period of six months. During these six months, the Union was created, and due to the fact that the Production Manager wanted to start a factory football team and that he knew Don Camerino had been a professional footballer, he was reinstated in his job. He worked in the same post for four months, after which he was promoted to the post of Assistant Industrial Mechanic. The promotion was easy to obtain because of the knowledge acquired previously in the garage. With his salary he helped his mother but could not save a penny.

In 1971, he became a regular worker (obtiene la planta) and got married to Doña Epifania, who was born in El Rincón in 1953,

and who is a niece of Don José (Case No.III) (III C 10). Doña Epifania has elementary education and is the daughter of a well-to-do ejidatario (III B 25). The latter rents several plots and has bought agricultural machinery and "maquilas", the plots of other ejidatarios. He goes with his tractor and does all the necessary work throughout the year for a certain amount of money. In 1974 Don Camerino bought a used car. In 1973 his first daughter was born and the next year a son. During this same year he was promoted to the post of Diesel Mechanic Assistant. At this time he purchased a better car and, the following year, he changed it for a better one. In 1976 he had his third child and started feeling the need to buy a house. Up till then he had been living with his mother who was living alone after her husband abandoned her. Don Camerino's elder brother had married and moved. He was working as a casual worker in Tolteca. Don Camerino obtained permission from the Union for him to be hired in spite of his age. However he will always remain a casual worker as he is not allowed to become a regular worker (obtiene la planta).

In 1976 Don Camerino's mother started cohabiting with another man. Don Camerino got very angry and decided to move with his family. He bought an old house in El Rincón and invested money (30,000 pesos) to make it habitable. After the quarrel with his mother, he stopped seeing her. Later when she died he did not receive any part of the inheritance. Likewise, he has no relationships with his father since he abandoned his mother.

Since 1974 he has not been promoted in the factory, although from January 1978 he was earning the salary of a diesel mechanic

due to the fact that he was taking the place of a man who held a post in the Union Executive Committee and who had two years leave of absence.

From the time he has worked as a regular worker in Tolteca, he has not performed any complementary job or business. Apparently the salary he receives is enough to meet his family's needs. As he expresses it, "I feel privileged because I earn a lot of money without getting tired." There are weeks when he can earn as much as 5,000 pesos, when he reckons that 500 pesos is enough for him and his family to live on. In a normal week and without extra hours he makes about 2,300 pesos. The extra hours are not difficult or tiring; sometimes he merely sits down and waits to do some small mechanical repairs. The repairs the maintenance staff do in Tolteca are only small jobs. When it is necessary to change a whole engine the management of the factory hires specialised services. And, if this were not enough, when the repairs are urgent the workers negotiate special deals with the foreman. It works like this: when a machine breaks down and is needed urgently, the engineers - "who do not know a single thing, what is wrong with it, nor how long the repair will take" - make a deal with the mechanics to the effect that if they do the repair quickly they will pay them the fixed eight hours plus a bonus of between 16 and 24 hours extra work depending on the terms. The workers know what kind of repair it is and "that is the way we rob the company." Deals are made even before diagnosing what is wrong and sometimes it is "just a matter of fastening a bolt." Don Camerino, then, is happy in his work and hopes to keep it until his retirement. Recently he has taken a course in Guadala-

jara for the maintenance of the new machinery which is coming shortly for the expansion projected by the company.

Last year he wanted to hire a plot of land but his search proved unsuccessful as the demand for plots is very high. Nevertheless he hopes to be able to lay his hands on one soon. He has good relations with ejidatarios and he is confident he will be notified at the first opportunity that arises. At present his expenses are not high and he has only three children and the eldest has just started to attend kindergarden. But, as they are ready to have "as many children as God will send them", his expenses will no doubt increase sooner or later. That is why he is thinking of trying his luck in agriculture. Meanwhile he is thinking of buying a better car, although his wife wants him to invest the money in the construction of a second floor to their house.

Don Camerino's network of social relations

As a member of the small community of El Rincón, Don Camerino participates in religious fiestas and mayordomías. He co-operates with substantial amounts of money compared with other contributors. He says that this does not mean anything to his budget as he earns much more than he really needs.

Through his relationship with Don José who is his compadre and his wife's uncle, Don Camerino participates in the collecting of signatures for the promotion of the secondary school. Also, through Don José and his wife's parents and brothers, he has been in contact with the comunidad ejidal. Don Camerino is particularly interested in maintaining good relations with the comunidad

ejidal for two basic reasons: the first is that he wants to hire a plot of land. He is the son of an ejidatario, but he cannot expect to inherit his father's plot because when the latter abandoned the mother they quarrelled and now his father has another family and the plot will almost certainly go to one of his young children. The second reason is that the house he bought is situated on ejidal land and if he does not maintain good relations with the community they can create a lot of trouble for him.

At present there is no reason to worry about his relations with the comunidad ejidal. He is the Second Deputy of El Rincón (with his compadre Don Jose) under the Presidencia Municipal. He is in charge of submitting the community's demands to the responsible authorities. His friendship with the Municipal President has made it possible for him to obtain some improvements for the community e.g. repairs and extensions to the school premises, lighting and the promise of the construction of a new asphalted road to El Rincón. This road will be built by the municipality and the cement factory. We must not forget that the committee for improvements is made up of deputies of the communities of the municipio, the Municipal President and the General Manager and the Personnel Chief of the cement factory. The cement factory has been having problems with the comunidad ejidal, because they have not yet paid for all the land which was affected by the construction of the factory when the main road was built to Cd. Guzman, and when the railroad branch connecting the factory to the main line to Guadalajara was finished. The construction of these communications represents a large investment of capital but has created some difficulties with the

community.

Don Camerino is also trying to improve and extend his relationships within the factory. He has good relations with the white-collar workers in his department. He is considered a good worker and "a good element". As I have already explained, he recently was chosen to go on a course to Guadalajara to learn how to maintain the new machinery expected shortly.

He was accepted at the factory through the recommendation of a close friend who at the time was the Security Chief. This friendship continues up until now, and through his links he was able to find a job at the factory for his brother. With his fellow workers he also has good relations and with his immediate superior a close friendship. He has chosen him to replace him in his post when on two years leave of absence. This relationship has proved especially beneficial as the demands of the maintenance department have priority in the demands which the Union makes to the factory management.

Don Camerino has also established compadrazgo links with several of his mates in the maintenance department. He has five compadres in the factory, inluding Don José. In the Union he has held the post of Finance Secretary and Sports Secretary. Together with his compadre Don José, he has promoted the football club. In the period 1974-76, he was deputy to the Labour Secretary, and in 1978 he was appointed President of the Electoral Committee for the Union elections.

Outside the factory he has maintained good relations with his former employer and friend, the owner of the bus company.

They have become *compadres*. Don Camerino has weakened his relations with his aunts in Guadalajara, but has not altogether lost contact. However, he has lost contact with an uncle who migrated to Mexico City. His strongest family relations are with his in-laws, mostly with his wife's parents and brothers, and with Don José who provides the main tie with the *comunidad ejidal* and its authorities.

Comments

The early part of the life career of Don Camerino ranges over several badly paid jobs outside the area before joining the cement factory. His quarrel with his father deprives him and his brother of access to *ejidal* land, and so they seek work elsewhere. His brother, who stays with the mother, had no qualifications and no other choice but to become a day labourer on other people's land. But Don Camerino, who is younger, leaves to work in Guadalajara three years before returning to El Rincón to start an apprenticeship in a garage. Here he learns the rudiments of mechanics and how to drive, skills which are to become important later on.

His brief experience as a professional footballer also proved beneficial into getting him back into the factory and to the appointment of Sports Secretary of the Union. He was also able to make a lot of friends among other workers who admired him because he is a good footballer and because he had been a member of the best team of Jalisco "*Las Chivas del Guadalajara*". Afterwards, his footballing experience, his driving skills and his friendship with the owner of the bus company proved important in getting him a job which channelled the necessary information to get into the factory. Friendship with another native of El

Rincón who was already working there, was important for providing a personal recommendation, necessary for admitting new workers. Don Camerino has maintained these various relationships over the years.

After Don Camerino entered the cement factory for the second time, he became aware that it paid to maintain good relations with both white- and blue-collar staff, particularly with the blue-collar workers from the same department and who are members of the Union Executive Committee. Hitherto, the only preoccupation of Don Camerino has been to maintain good relations within the community he lives and within the factory since he intends to work there until retirement. He has not until now felt the need to invest in a business. He claims he earns more than he needs from his job in Tolteca. But his plans to hire a plot of ejidal land suggest that he thinks that if his family increases he will need a larger income. The fact that he has not yet done so is probably a reflection of the lack of land available in the area. There is no land to buy: the only way to acquire some is to rent from ejidatarios who are migrating. Don Camerino is also thinking, like Don José, of giving as much education as possible to his children, but only to the boys. He believes that education for the girls is a waste of money as they marry and never put their education to use. Maybe through future contact with Don José and white-collar employees at the factory he will, as Don José has, change his views. Meanwhile he is thinking of investing his money in a new car, unless his wife is successful in convincing him that a second floor to their house is better.

Don Camerino has strengthened his links with the comunidad ejidal, the municipality and the cement factory. These are the institutions that can bring improvements to El Rincón. He has so far neglected his links with his relatives in Guadalajara but maybe will need to revive these when his children are old enough to go to Guadalajara to further their education. Don Camerino's relationship with his eldest brother is not very strong either. He helped him find a job in the cement factory but he can expect little help from him in return. He is simply in no position to offer much. Contrary to this, Don Camerino has strengthened his ties with his in-laws and with Don José who are the best located for assisting with his future plans. They can provide him with relevant information on ejidal plots to rent and, if he succeeds in hiring land, then his in-laws have the machinery necessary for agricultural work.

The occupational path taken by his family reflects the changes undergone in the region. His grandparents arrived in El Rincón as workers of the sugar mill. They came from another sugar mill where they also were workers. From workers in the mill they became ejidatarios, including Don Camerino's father. Their level of education was very low; Don Camerino's father was illiterate. His mother had attended elementary school in the hacienda.

Don Camerino's family became one of the lucky ones when they got access to land in the 1950's. Many of the workers at the smaller sugar mills were obliged to migrate after the mills were closed. The production capacity of the large mill at Tamazula made the smaller mills redundant.

Don Camerino's working life reveals also the scarcity of opportunities in the region. Since early childhood he helped his father in the fields, but when the parents separated he and his brother were forced to look for other jobs. One remained as day labourer in El Rincón, the other had to look for a job outside. However, Don Camerino was fortunate because the various skills and experience he gained at this juncture served him well when he later secured work at the cement factory.

CONCLUSIONS

These four case studies illustrate four different types of life history. Don Andrés, as we have said, represents an odd case because he does not regard his job in industry as the most important thing in his life. His interest in agriculture and livestock is paramount. So even if the greatest part of his income comes from industrial work, he only views it as a means to acquire more land and cattle and to pay for his children's education. In order to achieve these goals Don Andrés has selectively either strengthened or severed various sets of social relationships. He has reinforced his links with his maternal kin, who maintain their connections with agriculture; and has developed ties with white-collar personnel in the factory. On the other hand, he has cut his links with his paternal kin and with one of his brothers. Don Andrés, then, has a mixed strategy of maintaining a secure income from industrial work whilst devoting his savings, time and emotional commitment to the farm and to the education of his children. Although the latter is for him essential due to decreasing opportunities for making a living in the countryside, his own life style and activities outside working hours remain rural in character. In this sense he remains more a peasant than an industrial worker.

In contrast, Don Marcos depends entirely on his work in the paper mill. All other attempts to diversify his source of income have failed. Even if his interest in agriculture remains alive, he knows it is extremely difficult to obtain an available plot. That is why his efforts and expectations have all turned towards the paper mill. Luckily he is at present in a privileged position and can make the most of it: his cousin is the General Secretary

of the Union. Don Marcos therefore represents those workers whose sole means of income is the factory. His life and relationships are closely integrated into the industry.

Don José represents yet another type of life history. After a long working life in small-scale agriculture, he entered the industrial scene. However being older than his fellow workers he has a shorter period in which to achieve his goals. In addition, he already had developed very close relationships with his family and in-laws. These relationships are, as we will see in the case of the textile mill workers, of extreme importance when there is no regular income or where there is no mill or factory providing such services as retirement or widows pensions, sickness benefits etc. Don José maintains these relationships with kin and affines even though they are now fundamentally changed: before he was the one in need, now he is the one able to help others. He uses his two sets of relationships (within the comunidad ejidal and within the cement plant) to keep his status as ejidal delegate, representing the community before the municipality, and at the same time, to maximize his earnings and position in the factory. As I indicate earlier, he feels himself very fortunate in being able to retain an ejidal plot while working in industry: indeed from time to time he expresses his desire to "pay back" his good fortune by contributing generously to the betterment of the community and thereby reconciling the two worlds he moves in.

Don Camerino illustrates another typical case. He represents the young worker, with fewer family pressures or responsibilities, but high income. His network of social relationships is built

firstly around the factory and around Don José, his compadre and fellow worker, and secondly, around his wife's family made up of well-to-do ejidatarios and tractor owners. This latter set of ties is expected to come to fruition in the future when Don Camerino is able to rent or buy a plot of land or ejido. Meanwhile he is keeping the door open for information about such investments. His primary sources are Don José and his in-laws. Don Camerino manifests the attributes of a smart young man, putting his money into motor cycles, cars, clothes and entertainments, while maintaining his wife and children respectably and hoping for the day when he will be able to invest in some land somewhere nearby.

CHAPTER VI CASE STUDIES OF THE TEXTILE WORKERS

INTRODUCTION

We will now focus on the working lives and experiences of four workers of the textile mills in Guadalajara. Their experiences and achievements are rather different from those of the workers of the cement and paper industry. They have a long tradition of industrial work, some of them stretching back three or four generations. Thus for many there is no way of talking about a "life before entering industrial work" as they have always been engaged in it; some of them since they were only eight years old.

Another striking difference is that, in the beginning of the textile mills, a great majority of the labour force engaged in the process of production was made up of women and children. Children have since been protected by labour laws and the legal age for work has been changed to prohibit the employment of very young children in industry. Women also have been pushed out of industrial work. This process has taken place little by little using as a pretext the modernization of the mills. At the time we did the research, few women were actually still employed, but I thought it important to include them in the study as they once constituted an important part of the labour force of the textile mills. I was interested in knowing what had happened to these women, and what are the industrial opportunities for women now? Where do they work? What is the labour market open to them?

Three of the cases presented are cases of women engaged in textile work, but the importance of women in textile work can be seen even in the case of Don Rosalio. Through the life of these informants and their families I will try to highlight the different patterns of work for women in industry and how it has changed over time.

Another important difference is that the textile mills are located in an urban centre, Guadalajara, and therefore the workers have no possibility of supplementing their incomes in agriculture. Also their salary levels are lower than those received by the cement and paper workers and the fringe benefits are not so important. This last fact reduces the power of negotiation of the Union leaders and produces a division amongst the workers of the factory, since not all can be satisfied.

Case V : Don Rosalío

Don Rosalío is a worker at the Atemajac mill. His family originates from Nayarit, but Don Rosalío and three of his female relatives arrived in the Guadalajara region in 1913. His wife, as well, was a mill worker and so is one of his children.

Family background

Don Rosalio did not know his grandfathers. He knows that they were native to Santiago Ixcuintla in Nayarit and he believes that they were peasants and that they were illiterate as there were no schools in the town at that time. His father was probably born in Santiago Ixcuintla, Nayarit,in 1877. He was an orphan from early childhood and to help his mother make a living he used

to carry water from the river near Santiago to the town and sell it to the families who lived there. He married Don Rosalío's mother who was also a native of Santiago Ixcuintla. She died when Don Rosalío was only three months old. Don Rosalío, born in 1905, was then taken into the care of his paternal grandmother who brought him up. Later on his father remarried. Don Rosalío's grandmother decided to come to Guadalajara with her two daughters (V A 3 and V B 3-4) and Don Rosalío, who by then was eight years old (1913). The two aunts were already working in the Jauja textile mill, (Nayarit).

Don Rosalío's working life

When they arrived in Guadalajara, Don Rosalío and his two aunts started to work in the mill, El Salto, which was created in 1899 and located in a municipality near Guadalajara.* Don Rosalío worked in the spinning preparation department and, as he was still so small, he had to work standing on a chiquihuite (fruit box) to be able to reach the machine. At the same time he started school. They worked there for two years and then moved to Atemajac. They decided to move because in the mill of El Salto there were problems over the Union leadership and as things were getting difficult they sought a safer place. In the Atemajac mill he was not allowed to work as he was too young (10 years old). But three years later he was hired as a mozo (errand boy) at the home of one of the managers. And from then on he always worked in the mill. He spent 51 years in the mill working as a driver, a loader (stevedore) and finally as a mechanic. At present he is retired. His two aunts were also working in the

* See Map II in the Introduction.

mill. One of them married and stopped working; the other (V B 5) worked there all her life and remained single.

Don Rosalío married Doña Petra in 1935. She was born in Guadalajara in 1903. She worked in the factory from being 13 years old until she was almost 60. She did several jobs in the spinning department and afterwards she became a weaver. Almost all her sisters, brothers and nephews are, or were, working in the Atemajac mill.

Doña Petra's father, also native of Guadalajara, was a muleteer. He took part in the revolution of 1910 and his sons and daughters had to start working in the mills of Rio Blanco and Atemajac to earn their living. When he came back he went into small-scale trade to make a living. He bought sugar cane, peeled it and sold it at his front door. He claims that "The Revolution did not do him justice."

Once he had a job in the mill, Don Rosalío brought his father to Guadalajara and found a job for him in the finishing department. He worked there until retirement. He died aged 93. From his second marriage he had only one child, who remained in Santiago Ixcuintla, Nayarit, where he worked as a peasant (V C 2). Don Rosalío and Doña Petra had only two children: Rosario and Alfredo (V D 1-2). Doña Petra kept working all her life and hired a maid to help her with the children and the housework. Since they only had two children, they adopted a third, Manuel, (V D 3) from Don Rosalío's birth place, Nayarit.

The eldest child, a girl, was born in Atemajac in 1936. She completed four years of elementary school and she then worked

in the mill as a weaver for 13 years until she got married. She then migrated to the USA with her husband who was a lathe operator. They lived in Chicago, then in Los Angeles, and finally in San Francisco where they are now living on social security as her husband became blind in an accident. They have a daughter who is 13 years old and who attends school in the USA.

The second child, Alfredo, was born in 1939 and studied until the fourth year of elementary school in the mill-sponsored school "José Palomar". Then he started working as a mechanic in the factory. When the French management sold the factory to the Spanish group, Alfredo decided to migrate to the USA. He now lives in Chicago where he works as a mechanic.

The adopted child was born in 1944 in Apozalco, Nayarit. He completed elementary school in Atemajac and started working in the mill in the spinning preparation department in the Batientes (series of machines that open, clean and blend the cotton fibres. It emerges as a "lap", a thick loose blanket).* He suffered an accident and lost a hand. He was out of work for a long time but then was re-hired, this time in the boiler department. Manuel is married and has four children. All of them are studying. The eldest has started secondary school and the other three are in elementary school.

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* For further details on the process of preparing the cotton, spinning and weaving and on life in the mills in the USA and in England in the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries see Hareven, T.K. and Langenback, R., 1978 and Liddington, J. and Morris, J., 1978. The processes described in these two books are very much like the ones that prevailed in the Guadalajara textile mills until the 1940's and 50's.

Don Rosalío's network of social relations

As we have seen, Don Rosalío is not a native of Guadalajara. He migrated in his early childhood with his grandmother and two aunts. One of his aunts did not marry and the other had only one child, which means that Don Rosalío has few kin. His relationships are more with his in-laws and friends and mates working in the Atemajac mill where he has spent almost all his life.

During his working life in the factory Don Rosalío has been helped by one of his in-laws (V D 6) who succeeded in cornering the portfolio of General Secretary of the Union for 32 years (from 1944 to 1976). He relations with the managers of the company have also been very good, since he started, when he was 13 years old, to serve as an errand boy in the house of one of the French managers. After being an errand boy he became a driver for the managers of the company and stayed in that post for 31 years. Then he became a mechanic for the cars and vans of the company. One of the French managers gave him the chance to start working in the maintenance department. He retired with the salary of mechanic which is higher than that of driver.

But the most significant help came from the General Secretary of the Union. Don Rosalío never had any problem with the Union during this 32 year period. He was once appointed as a member of a Comisión de Vigilancia (Vigilance Commission). Don Rosalío retired during the big strike and so had nothing to do with the new General Secretary who could have created problems for him because he had been a supporter of the former General Secretary. In addition to the help received within the mill, Don Rosalío had received help outside the mill from this in-law. For instance,

he helped him by selling him two houses instead of the standard one. This happened in the 1950's when the mill management decided to sell its factory houses to workers. The factory entrusted the leaders of the Union with the distribution and sale of the houses. The price the company asked for the houses was extremely low and was more a token than a realistic selling price. The General Secretary and the members of the Executive Committee of the moment made a handsome profit out of the business by selling the houses for a much higher price and also by asking the workers for money to secure the right to buy a house or to be allowed to buy more than one. Don Rosalío bought two houses without having to pay any extra money. He now lets the house he bought for himself and is living in the house he bought for his son who is now living in the United States. The money he receives in rent helps him to achieve a higher living standard because the money he receives as a pension is rather small.

Another favour done to Don Rosalío by his pariente (relative) was to get his adopted son reinstated after the accident. Manuel spent five years out of work while he recovered from his injury and while another suitable job was found for him. Meanwhile he was living with his wife and children in Don Rosalío's house and was letting his own. Don Rosalío had bought a plot of land and then won a lottery prize. With this money he had built a house for his adopted son. The General Secretary managed to reinstate him in the boiler department. This department is one of the most dangerous and one of the best paid. It is dangerous because one small error can produce an explosion.

Another ayudada (help) that Don Rosalio received from his in-law went sour and this produced a distanciamiento (breaking-off of the relationship) between them. The dispute was very serious and Don Rosalío was angry enough to desire to kill his relative. Don Rosalío did not kill him, but several of the workers say that he was poisoned because he had made many enemies within the factory during his extremely long time in office. The ayudada that went wrong concerned Doña Petra's retirement and pension. Doña Petra was near retirement (she had to work for one more year) when the General Secretary proposed to Don Rosalío to obtain her retirement at once. He was the friend of the juez civil (civil registrar) of a nearby municipality. This juez, for a "few pesos" bribe would fake a new birth certificate, and made one for Doña Petra with an earlier date of birth. Don Rosalío agreed, convinced Doña Petra and the business was done. Unfortunately for Don Rosalío and his wife, the forgery had been carried out on a large scale, not only in Atemajac but in La Experiencia and El Salto as well, and it raised the suspicion of the Social Security authorities and of the management of the mills. All retirements were inspected and the trick discovered. This lead to the ousting of the juez civil involved and to the suspension of the payment of all retirement pensions until further investigation. The General Secretary won a few enemies but he remained in his post. He was well supported by the leader of the CTM in Jalisco and by an important faction of the mill workers. Doña Petra lost eleven years of her retirement pension while she tried to fix up all her papers. Finally, only in 1975, did she receive her pension money, but the amount was much lower than it would have been had she done it at the correct time and through

the correct procedures.

Doña Petra retired in 1961 or 1962. This was rather exceptional, because a considerable number of women in the weaving department where Doña Petra was working were fired during the modernization period in 1956-58. It cannot be proved that Doña Petra's stay in her job was due to the action of her relative but it is possible as the women who remained in their jobs were rather few.

Outside the union Don Rosalío has compadres among his friends, neighbours and relatives who, mostly, are fellow workers in the factory.

Comments

The life of Don Rosalío's family in Santiago Ixcuintla, still a very small town, was that of peasants and suppliers of basic needs, like water. The little town lacked all services: piped water, health clinic, school, and all of Don Rosalío's relatives were illiterate. There were no opportunities of employment except in agriculture and recently in the textile industry. In Nayarit there were two textile mills: Jauja and Buena Vista, but the jobs were mainly intended for women and children.

When Don Rosalío's grandmother became a widow she put her two daughters into the Jauja textile mill. When she took charge of Don Rosalío, after his mother died, he also went to work in the textile mill, but this time in El Salto near Guadalajara where they had migrated.

When they moved to Atemajac, Don Rosalío was not allowed to work. The State was already a little stronger and some labour

laws had been passed and applied in places nearer bigger urban centres. So he had to wait until he was a little older to be hired as an errand boy by one of the mill's managers. His two aunts were hired. One of them quit when she got married. The other worked all her life, as she was a spinster. They were both illiterate. Don Rosalío could only study one year of elementary education as they were moving and as he had to work.

Don Rosalío did not work in the production process itself, but at the service of the managers and then in the maintenance department as a mechanic. He then married into a family of mill workers. His own wife spent all her life within the mill. All her brothers, sisters and brothers-in-law were engaged in the mill. It seems likely that several of the members of the fourth generation were engaged in the mill as workers but some of them quit to migrate to the USA. One of the members of this fourth generation succeeded in cornering leadership of the Union for a long period. This relationship proved beneficial to Don Rosalío.

The network of social relations of Don Rosalío is confined to his relatives, mainly his in-laws, and his friends in the mill who live, like himself, in the surroundings of the mill where the ex-town factory was located. His only income is constituted by his retirement pension and the rents he receives from the houses he bought from the French management. Unlike the cement and paper workers, Don Rosalío would have been unable to buy a second house out of his salary even when added to that of his wife. The difference in prosperity between these two kinds

of workers is even more striking when one takes into account that Don Rosalío and his wife had just two children and adopted a third. In spite of this they were not able to afford to give them an education. They did not even finish elementary school. Only the adopted child finished. So the educational standards achieved by the cement and paper mill workers are not achieved by textile workers, even when there are fewer children and they have two salaries to live on (Don Rosalío and his wife worked all their lives), and they live in a city where educational facilities are greater. Although both children migrated to the USA, the girl worked in the mill for 13 years before she married and then migrated with her husband to Chicago, and her brother worked in the mill in the same department as his father until the mills were sold to Spanish management. Then he quit and migrated to Chicago where his sister lived.

The genealogical analysis of Don Rosalío's family in the following chapter shows which factors are determinant in achieving upwards social mobility through education.

Case VI : Doña Aurora

Doña Aurora was a worker of the mill of Atemajac. She started working when she was 19 years old and retired in 1977. She was one of the few women to work in the mill after the modernization.

Family background

Doña Aurora's paternal grandfather was from Moyagua, Zacatecas. She thinks that he was a peasant. He was literate, but she did not know him as he died when her own father was a child. Her maternal grandfather was born in La Escoba around 1865. He worked in the factory in the water maintenance department. He was literate.

Her father was born in Moyagua, Zacatecas in 1888. He was just four years old when his father died and he came with his mother to La Escoba where she started work in the mill. He worked in La Escoba, Rio Blanco and Atemajac, first as a postman - he knew how to read and write very well - and then as a mill worker in the batientes department (spinning preparation department). He died in 1951 at the age of 63. His mother had remarried and he had two half-brothers. Both of them worked in Rio Blanco and Atemajac. They are now retired (VI B 4-2) and make a living from trade on a small scale. They are both literate.

Doña Aurora's mother, born in 1892 in La Escoba, was also literate. She did not work in the mills. She married very young and died in 1917 when she was only 25 years old, when Doña Aurora was just a year old.

Doña Aurora's working life

Doña Aurora was born in 1916 in Zapopan. She was her mother's only child. Her father went to Atemajac and remarried and had five children in his second marriage. Doña Aurora studied until the fourth year of elementary school. When she was 19 years old she entered the mill as a weaver (1935). Up until this time she remained at home helping her stepmother. She worked 42 years in the mill, until her retirement in 1977. She was one of the few women who were kept on at the mill after modernization. She operated 30 looms all by herself. She retired when she was 61 years old because of the strike. In the last years of her stay in the mill she worked as a machuconera ("smash-piecer"), and she was in charge of 285 looms. She worked 42 years without missing a single day of work. She only allowed herself the 40 days of maternity-leave each time one of her children was born.

Doña Aurora's husband was a native of Ixtlahuacan del Rio, Jalisco. He was born in 1916. He has fourth year elementary schooling and is at present an employee in a dry-cleaning shop. They married in 1942. Doña Aurora and her husband have three children, all of them born in Guadalajara. The eldest, born in 1943, is a housewife. She completed elementary school and some years of secondary school. Her husband is a driver. Previously he worked in the mill as a loom-fixer, but retired voluntarily during the strike. The second, born in 1957, completed secondary school, one year of a pre-University course and then IBM computer programming. He now works as a programmer in NUNATEX. The third child, born in 1961, is studying business administration in the University of Guadalajara. She is in the first year.

During her working life in the factory Doña Aurora worked with one, two and then three of the old looms. She then ran 30 automatic ones. She has never had a portfolio in the Union. Her relations with her fellow workers were always good. She found it occasionally difficult when she was a machuconera (smash-piecer) and everybody wanted to be served at the same time. At present she lives in a house built by the Government as part of a housing development. She does not possess 'the papers' of the house as she is still paying for it. The house is very similar to the factory-town houses: one storey, three small rooms, a small kitchen and bathroom, and sitting and dining room.

Doña Aurora's network of social relations

Doña Aurora's network of social relations is limited to her family, and mainly to the members who work in the mills. These are numerous. Although, as I said, she has never held office in the Union, her relations with Union leaders have always been good but distant. Relationships with fellow workers have also been good both within and outside the factory. Previously she lived in a house belonging to the factory, but when the sale of these houses started she was not given the possibility to buy. The reason given was that her husband did not work in the mills, although she herself had worked there fore 42 years. Thus she was obliged to enter the Government housing scheme. These houses were much more expensive and she is still paying for it. Her lack of close connections with Union leaders and the fact that she was a woman were probably influential in her not being allowed to buy her mill house. Her life and relationships have centred around her work at the mill. Doña Aurora and her husband

have never had other work or supplementary funds to round off their income. They have always lived from the incomes they received in their two jobs.

Comments

Like the grandmother and aunts of Don Rosalío, Doña Aurora's father's mother came to the textile mills of Guadalajara to seek a living. She worked in La Escoba and Rio Blanco. She remarried, this time to a mill worker of Rio Blanco. Doña Aurora's father started working very young. First not in the production process but as a postman. When he was older he was hired to work in the spinning preparation department.

The migration of single or widowed women to Guadalajara and its mills demonstrates how few opportunities of employment in the countryside there were for them and that once they had lost a man's support they were obliged to migrate and try to find a job in one of the textile mills. Certainly women and children were at one time given preference in textile work.

Doña Aurora spent all her working life in the mill. Her husband, on the other hand, was engaged in services (e.g. an employee in a dry-cleaning shop). Like Don Rosalío, they had only three children who were well spaced (1943, 1957, 1961). This made it possible for them to give more education to them than Don Rosalío and his wife were able to give theirs.

Doña Aurora's network of social relations is limited to her family and friends within the factory. Unlike Don Rosalío she never had close relations with the Union leaders. This impeded her access to a company house, but did not threaten her work

within the mill. She was, in fact, one of the few women who continued working after the modernization of the factory. She retired in 1977 and now lives on her retirement pension supplemented by her husband's salary. Her family genealogy indicates the kinds of conditions necessary to achieve upward social mobility through education when the parents are engaged in textile work.

Case VII : Doña Dolores

Doña Dolores worked as a weaver in the textile mill of Atemajac for 30 years.

Family background

Doña Dolores' paternal grandfather originated from Cuquio, Jalisco. She did not know anything about him except that he died when her father was a child, and that he migrated to La Escoba from Cuquio. She did not know if he worked in the textile mill. Her maternal grandfather came from La Experiencia. He made a living by trading fruit (oranges and peaches) produced in the orchards of the mill. He was literate and numerate.

Doña Dolores' father was born in La Escoba in 1890. He worked in La Escoba, La Experiencia and Atemajac as a weaver and loom fixer. He died in 1949 at the age of 60 years and was actively weaving. He was literate, reading and writing well. He had two half-brothers in the textile industry: one of them worked as a loom fixer in La Experiencia, the other was also working in the textile industry but in Veracruz.

Doña Dolores' mother was born in La Experiencia in 1888. She died in 1951, aged 63. She was a housewife who never worked in the mills. She was literate. She had one sister, Vicenta (VII B 6). Vicenta worked in the mill as a weaver for many years until she retired. She was literate. She married a mill worker but they did not have children.

Doña Dolores' working life

Doña Dolores was born in La Experiencia in 1911. When she was three months old she was brought to Atemajac. She studied until the fifth year of elementary school. When she was 13 years old (1924), she started work in the Atemajac textile mill. Ten other young girls started working at the same time. Doña Dolores was taught how to weave by her aunt Vicenta. She learned very quickly and in one month she was already earning some money. She began to work with one loom, then with two and she finally managed to run three. She worked in the mill for 30 years. She stopped in 1954 due to the modernization that was taking place. Her husband then entered the mill in the mechanics department. Her husband, Jesus (VII C 9), was born in Ixtlahuacan del Rio, Jalisco, in 1909. He arrived when he was young in Atemajac where his father started a dairy business. Don Jesus helped in milking the cows. He completed elementary school and then started working as an apprentice mechanic in a garage. He became a mechanic and worked several years in a small garage. He then commenced work in the mill in the mechanics department when Doña Dolores was given notice. Doña Dolores' brother, Ramón (VII C 7), found a job for him. Almost all of Doña Dolores' brothers and sister worked in the textile mill of Atemajac. Don Jesus decided to enter the factory because there were more fringe benefits and a better salary in the mill than in the garage where he was working. Without Doña Dolores' salary they could not manage.

Doña Dolores was on the Union Executive Committee in 1931, but only once. After that, women did not have any more portfolios in the Union. Nevertheless she always had good relations with

her fellow workers and with the French management. She worked in the first shift and left her children with her mother. Eventually she worked on the night shift in order to earn more money, until she was laid off in 1954. She was at that time only 43 years old. She received 13,300 pesos as severance pay. Afterwards they discovered that she was due to receive more but that the General Secretary of the Union kept almost one quarter of it. The present General Secretary, who is Doña Dolores' nephew, showed her file to her. She did not receive a pension when she finished work. The amount of the pension was so little that she did not even bother to start the procedures to obtain it. Her husband was working by that time. She is now a widow and lives on her widow's pension.

Doña Dolores and Don Jesus had seven children, all of them born in Atemajac. The eldest, born in 1930, has an elementary education, is married and works in the mill in the warping department. The second was born in 1937; she has an elementary education and is a housewife. Her husband works in Guadalajara as an industrial mechanic. The third, born in 1940, also has an elementary education, is single and works as a lorry driver. The fourth, born in 1942, a similar education, a housewife, and lives in the USA where she migrated with her husband. Doña Dolores did not know his occupation in the USA. The fifth was born in 1949 and completed secondary school. He is single and is working as a mechanic in the Atemajac textile mill. The sixth, born in 1951, did only elementary school, is single and works as a driver. The seventh, a girl born in 1953 died when she was only a year old.

Doña Dolores and her three single sons live in a house which formerly was a factory-town house. Doña Dolores and her husband bought it from the French management in the 1950's.

Doña Dolores' network of social relations

Doña Dolores' relationships are, like those of our previous case studies, limited to the mill and the ex-factory-town. It seems that the self-contained life within the compounds of the mill reduces the circle of relationships that workers maintain. Moreover, the salaries received by mill workers do not permit savings to start other economic enterprises. We have seen that if these workers are the owners of their houses it is because they could buy them, at a very low price, from the French management or because they took part in a housing scheme of the Government. This fact, the impossibility of finding other avenues for additional income to that of the mill, reduces the need to create new wider links. The ties that are maintained are mainly within the family. For instance, Doña Dolores has good relations with all her family, most of whose members have worked or are still working in the mill.

In the case of Doña Dolores these relationships have proved useful from the beginning of her working life. She was introduced to the factory and taught to weave by her aunt Vicenta. According to my informants, to be taught and protected by a relative was the best way to start working in the factory. Life was very miserable for young girls who arrived to work in the factory and were obliged to ask somebody to do them the "favour" of teaching them how to spin and weave.

When Doña Dolores was fired because of the modernization of the factory, her brother Ramón, who had good contacts with the Union leaders, persuaded them to allow his brother-in-law to have a job in the mill. This was a necessary and vital step as, without Doña Dolores' salary, they could not survive on Don Jesus' earnings.

At present, another family link may prove useful to Doña Dolores. Her nephew is now the Union leader. He is trying to obtain for Doña Dolores the pension she deserved for 30 years of work in the mills. When in 1954 she was severed from the mill she only received a severance indemnity, not a pension (and besides that the severance indemnity was reduced by a third, due to the former Union leader taking his cut). If her nephew succeeds in obtaining a pension for her, she will be able to live a little bit better than she now does. This last relationship might also prove useful for Doña Dolores' children who are still working in the mill.

Comments

Doña Dolores' paternal grandfather came to live in La Escoba. Doña Dolores did not know if he became a worker of the mill or if his wife did. But her father spent all his life in the mills. He worked in three of them: La Escoba, La Experiencia and Atemajac as a weaver and loom fixer. Her maternal grandfather, native of La Experiencia, took part in another of the economic activities of the mill. As I explained in the description of the mills, they functioned as haciendas and mills at the same time. They had land and orchards and peasants worked these. Doña Dolores' maternal grandfather was engaged in trading fruit from these orchards.

Her maternal kin were also engaged in the work of the mill. Her mother's sister worked all her life in the mill of Atemajac and was in charge of teaching the job to Doña Dolores. As in the other cases, we find that an important number of the members of each family was engaged in textile work. Many were women. Unlike Doña Aurora, Doña Dolores was fired in 1954 when the modernization of the factory took place, losing her pension rights. Before being fired she was put on the third shift (night shift) hoping thereby to oblige her to resign. If she resigned the payment from the mill would be less as it would be considered a voluntary retirement and not a dismissal. But she needed the work and kept working on the night shift without complaining. Hence eventually the management was obliged to fire her, but they made things so complicated that she preferred not to ask for her pension and instead obtained, through her brother's help, a job for her husband. The mill offered a regular salary, some fringe benefits and a retirement or widow's pension at the end of a working life. Thus we see that, even if the textile mill salaries were not as good as those of the paper or cement factories, they were better than obtained in the informal sector.

Doña Dolores' life shows us the importance of female work in making both ends meet in the budget of a family. Several of the women severed from industrial work were obliged to look for other jobs. The alternative available was to go into the maquila system. This policy of closing the doors of industrial work to women opened the possibility of over-exploiting them in the "putting out" or maquila system.

Case VIII : Doña Adelaida

Doña Adelaida and her husband have been workers at La Experiencia for many years.

Family background

The only thing that Doña Adelaida knows about her grandparents is that her mother's parents were from Zapotlanejo, and her father's from La Escoba. They died when her own parents were in their childhood. She did not know them. Doña Adelaida's father was born in 1865. Doña Adelaida believes that he was born in La Escoba and, when his parents died, was fostered by an aunt who lived in a hacienda near Zapotlanejo, Jalisco. He was still living with his aunt and working as a mediero (sharecropper) when he married Doña Adelaida's mother. He knew how to read.

Doña Adelaida's mother, born in 1886, was an orphan. Her father died when she was only a child. She never attended school and from the age of eight years helped her mother to tortear (make tortillas, maize pancakes) to sell them. Her mother died when she was only 13 years old. She was then fostered by one of her mother's sisters. She had to wash, to iron and tortear for her. She met her husband in a shop where she used to buy lime and maize to make the tortillas. She was 14 years old and he was 35 years old. They were both alone and "arrimados" (living with a relative's family). Together they started working as medieros and they were quite successful. They cultivated tobacco, maize, beans and sweet potatoes. They succeeded in buying a team of oxen and a horse, chickens and pigs and two cows. But, during the Cristiada, the Government obliged the inhabitants of haciendas and rancherías to concentrate in Guadalajara to avoid them giving

support and food to the Cristeros. Doña Adelaida's parents had to leave everything behind; they only took the two cows with them.

When they arrived in Guadalajara, Doña Adelaida's father and two of her brothers fell ill. Arnulfo (VIII C 17), the brother who used to help her father in the field, died. Clemente (VIII C 21) and her father recovered. When they were well enough her mother went back to the ranch near Zapotlanejo. There was nothing left, so she went back to Guadalajara. Her husband was still weak but he started working as a porter in La Experiencia, but he could not cope with it. One of his brothers, Agustín (VIII B 4) who had been a former textile worker and had started a shop, offered him a job in his shop. He also provided his brother's family with a small house. Doña Adelaida's father worked in that shop selling cattle feed. He earned a few pesos and his lunch. Doña Adelaida's brothers worked taking care of the calves. Her mother made sweets and jams and went to the ranches around Guadalajara to sell them. They lived in great misery. Doña Adelaida's father died in 1936 (aged 71).

Doña Adelaida's working life

Doña Adelaida was born in 1914 on the hacienda near Zapotlanejo where her parents were working as medieros. She did not go to school at all when she was a child. She studied only three months, by which time she was already adult, and now she can read a little. She arrived with her parents and brothers in Guadalajara in 1927, and in 1928 she started working in the maquila (putting out system). She knitted socks on a machine lent to her by the owners of a sock factory. She worked at home and was

able to make 12 dozen each day. She worked making socks for this factory for a period of two years and eight months until she married. She was then 17 years old (1930).

Her husband, Odilón, was born in 1900 in Ixtlahuacán del Rio. He learnt how to read and write. He arrived at La Experiencia in 1913, and started working in the orchard and in the vegetable garden belonging to the mill. When he was 16, he started working in the mill. He married for the first time in 1919 but became a widower in 1926, with two sons. In 1926 he migrated to the USA and came back in 1928. As he had lost his job in the mill, he started working as a butchery inspector for one year and after that he managed to establish his own butchery. This business lasted for only six months, after which he started working in a meat storehouse for two months, and finally as a butcher in the butchery of La Experiencia.

He married Doña Adelaida in 1930. In 1931 one of his brother's, Francisco (VIII C 9), who was a worker at the textile mill, discussed his situation with the General Secretary of the Union, Don Odilin, and the brother was accepted as a 'reserve' worker (suplente), and in 1937 he became a regular worker (obrero de planta). However he died in 1943 when he was 43 years old. As at that time there were no widow's pensions, Doña Adelaida started to work in her husband's place. She was 29 and had five children and two stepsons to support.

She worked in the mill for 17 years (1960). She worked doing cordón y cinta (string and ribbon). These were used in the spinning process. When the spinning department was modernized Doña Adelaida learnt how to work with the new machines. She worked

there for four months on the night shift, after which she was dismissed. She says that she was put on the night shift to oblige her to resign, but she needed the work and the money, so they were obliged to dismiss her. She has no pension. After 17 years of work in the mill she only received 4,500 pesos (more or less £90). The reason why she has no pension, she claims, is because "somebody", she does not know whether in the mill or in the Union offices, mislaid her papers. Five years ago, she started, with the "help" of the new Union leader to activate procedures in order to obtain her pension. She now lives alone, and earns her living by sewing and patching other people's garments. She has a daughter in Tijuana and sometimes she sends money to her mother and invites her to come to Tijuana. Doña Adelaida lives in one of the former company houses which she bought in the 1950's from the French management.

Doña Adelaida and her husband had six children. In addition, Doña Adelaida's husband had two sons from his first marriage. After his death, Doña Adelaida took care of them but they soon left her house as they were grown up already, being born in 1920 and 1922. All their children were born in La Experiencia in the place known as El Molino (where the old wheat-mill was). The eldest was born in 1934. She completed the third year of elementary school, and married a worker of the mill who died in an accident in 1980. She has two children with elementary education, and lives on her widow's pension. The second, born in 1936, died when she was only 19 months old. The third, born in 1937, completed the fourth year of elementary school. She is now married but her husband is "lazy" and works only when he wants and has no fixed

occupation. She sews to earn her living and support her children. Two of them are working in the mill. Another is doing a technical course in electronics. The two younger ones work and study at secondary school. The fourth, born in 1939, has no formal education. She is a housewife and runs a fruit juice stall in the market of La Experiencia. She was married to a mill worker but she is now a widow. She has four children, the eldest of whom is 17 and works in a glove factory and is studying secondary school. The second is 15; she is also studying secondary school and helps her mother in the market. The third and fourth are in elementary school. They are nine and eleven years old respectively. Her fifth child, born in 1941, completed the fifth year of elementary education. She is now married and at present lives in Tijuana with her husband who works in the USA in a furniture factory. They have eight children. The eldest is doing electronic engineering, the second is a bilingual secretary, the third completed secondary school, the fourth is practising civil engineering, and the remaining four are still in secondary and elementary school. The sixth child, born in 1943, completed the fifth year of elementary education and works in a garage. He is married and has five children. All of them are under 12 years of age and doing elementary studies.

Doña Adelaida only receives economic help from her daughter who lives in Tijuana. This daughter regularly sends money to her and invites her to visit them. In 1971 Doña Adelaida needed an operation and her daughter paid for it. She stayed in Tijuana for a period of four months.

Doña Adelaida's network of social relations

Like the other case studies, the case of Doña Adelaida reveals the importance of kinship relations for survival. These kinds of relationships were even more important before the possibility of getting jobs in industry. They were the "social security" and the only possibility of survival in case of orphanhood, widowhood and illness. During Dona Adelaida's life and that of her husband, they received help from a brother, daughter and near relatives. They never created a network of social relations of any significance external to the factory. Their life was centered around work in the mill.

After her dismissal, Doña Adelaida was obliged to start working in the informal sector in order to earn her living. Fortunately she had bought her house from the French management and received some help from her daughter. Unlike Doña Dolores who is receiving help from the new Union leader, her nephew, Doña Adelaida has had to pay the new leader of the Union of La Experiencia in order to obtain his help in trying to sort out the problem of her pension.

Comments

Doña Adelaida's family life illustrates some of the changes in occupation that characterized the history of the region. From quite successful sharecroppers, during the period in which the region was achieving its self-development through the enlargement of its internal market, they became marginal workers in the city. Their migration was principally involuntary, due to the Cristiada and to the orders of the Government to concentrate all the rural population in Guadalajara in an attempt to control and eliminate

the Cristiada.

Once in the city, the only jobs open to them were poorly paid, irregular ones. Only Doña Adelaida's father obtained a job in industry, as a porter in La Experiencia, but due to ill health he was unable to keep it. Meanwhile his wife and children engaged themselves in informal activities: sweet and jam production and sale, services and maquila.

Doña Adelaida entered textile work following the death of her husband. As we will see in the analysis of her genealogy, few members of her kin are actually engaged in textile work. Most of them are working in services, informal activities or agriculture in their places of origin.

Doña Adelaida and her husband did not succeed in providing education for their six children. Doña Adelaida was dismissed when her younger son was only 17 years old. She could only give him elementary education and he was obliged to start his apprenticeship in a garage. He still works in a garage. All of them had little formal education and work in the informal economy: dressmaking, operating stalls in the market, and working in garages. The only one who is a little better off is the daughter who married and migrated to Tijuana with her husband. Tijuana is a city on the border with the USA and her husband has a working permit to work in the USA. She is the only one who has enough income to help her mother, and the only one who is able to offer a better education to her children in spite of there being eight of them. All the other grandchildren of Doña Adelaida have little education or are obliged to work at the same time as they try to complete their courses, or they receive help from older brothers who are already working.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS TO THE CASE STUDIES

In Chapters V and VI I have presented eight case studies of industrial workers. These cases reflect, through the individual life experiences of these workers and their families, the development of the region, mapping the changing opportunities available to its inhabitants. This particular set of men and women, however, does not represent the majority of the population of the area since they make up a relatively small group who are engaged in industrial work. The vast majority of the populations of Jalisco and Guadalajara areas are peasants or work in the informal sector in small workshops or enterprises or they make a precarious living as self-employed petty traders or service workers.

Each of the cases analysed illustrates some dimensions concerning industrial work and its consequences; but each is also different in its details. These differences are, I believe, important for emphasizing the heterogeneity of the industrial working class in Mexico. The differences lie not only in their different social background, origins and family strategies, but also result from the policies of the State and the ways in which these have impeded the development of a strong working class solidarity vis-à-vis other social classes. The latter issue is taken up in Chapter VIII. Here I review some of the salient social differences that emerge from the eight case studies.

The four case studies from the paper and cement industries are strikingly different from those of the textile mills. Nevertheless there are also differences among the cases of the paper and cement factory and between each other.

The first two cases belong to workers of the paper mill, who differ in their life careers, strategies and use of social networks. Don Andrés is the owner of two plots of land and some livestock. He obtained a good job in the mill but in the early part of his career he did not take good care of it; and as a result suffered several punishments and suspensions. Hence it was not until 1969 that his progress through the promotion ladder became at all regular, by which time he had already lost seniority benefits and career opportunities. In comparison, some of his fellow-workers, with the same seniority or even less, have been promoted above him to top jobs. Don Andrés still has one more step to climb in his career, but he says he is not prepared to wait for it. He wants to take early retirement and concentrate on his farm and cattle.

By combining the two jobs, Don Andrés has been able to give a good education to his rather numerous children. Before acquiring his second plot, he was thinking of diversifying his economic strategies and even invested in a nearby house with the idea of starting a garage in partnership with an engineer from the paper mill. But, when the opportunity arose, he bought the plot and forgot about the garage. At present, all his efforts are concentrated on agriculture and in keeping good relations within the factory while his children complete their education. His economic strategies and his relative economic security have allowed him to sever links that did not seem important to him, or that might threaten his interests. On the other hand, he has put a lot of work into reinforcing ties that could prove useful in the agricultural part of his household economy. Nor has he neglected his relationships within the factory, although these

are mainly with white-collar employees rather than fellow-workers. As I explained earlier, his compadres and friends are white-collar employees, workers in his own department in top jobs, and friends and relatives on the maternal side of his family, who are landowners.

Don Andrés' life has evolved around Tuxpan. He has not needed to migrate for work: he belonged to a family of landowners, and before entering industrial work, helped his father on the farm. In addition, he served an apprenticeship in a garage in Tuxpan, which proved beneficial when beginning his industrial career.

We can say, then, that Don Andrés' life has always been shaped by its relation with land: his ownership of land and his decision to make agriculture and livestock production his main economic interest, has, in some way, determined the ways in which he has interacted with relatives and fellow-workers, and has also affected his perceptions of industrial work. Although he is aware that his job in Atenquique provides him with three times the amount of money generated by his land and cattle, he shows a strong commitment to farming and will give up his mill work as soon as his commitments towards his children have diminished.

The second paper mill worker represents a completely different picture. In Don Marcos' life, the job in Atenquique has a different meaning and therefore his economic strategies are also different. Don Marcos comes from a family background that is different to Don Andrés'. He was, in fact, a sharecropper to Don Andrés' family, and had to work very hard from early childhood to provide for his

mother and sister. He entered the mill young and started to work as a regular worker from the age of 15. Then, after marriage, his family expanded rapidly. This forced him to look for jobs in addition to that at the mill. He worked as a driver, first for a white-collar employee, and then as a taxi man. He even tried his luck at agriculture, but this experience turned out bad and, due to the scarcity of land in the area, he was not able to find another plot. His economic strategy, then, is focused primarily upon his work in the mill. His main set of social relations is within the mill and he attempts to maximize the benefits he receives from this. Much effort goes into strengthening his ties within the mill. One important part of this is his relationship with the Union leader, who turns out to be his cousin.

Since he has no access to land, his future plans are to invest some of his savings from industrial work in transport and commerce. As we saw, the South of Jalisco is a region oriented to production for external markets and importing consumer necessities. Don Marcos has decided to buy a truck and start transporting goods from the South of Jalisco, where he lives, to Guadalajara, where he has also a house which he will use as a base.

Although different in economic orientation, both cases are similar in that education has been a main investment. This underlines the lack of development opportunities in the area: there is no room for other kinds of investment; there are few jobs available and the region expels many of its inhabitants. Education is the best way to achieve social mobility outside the region.

The workers of the cement plant, Don José and Don Camerino, present a different pattern. Both of them come from El Rincón which was a former hacienda and sugar mill. After the Revolution the hacienda became an ejido during the Land Reform, and the parents of both our interviewees became ejidatarios.

Don José has had a long working experience in agricultural and other casual work, even migrating to the USA and to other parts of Mexico, before receiving this, as he put it, "Gift from God" - a job in the Tolteca cement plant. A main influence on Don José's economic strategies, decisions and networks is his late entrance into industrial work. Thus, before starting work in the cement plant, he had time enough to consolidate his relationships with family and in-laws. During many years of financial difficulties, they helped each other and the fact that Don José had the good luck to find a job in Tolteca did not alter this pattern of already-sound relationships. Like Don Andrés, Don José gives great importance to his agricultural work, but, unlike the latter, he does not despise his work in Tolteca. He know that, because he started late, he must make as much progress as possible in the years he is in employment. It is for this reason that he nurtures his relationships within the plant. He actively seeks promotion in his job and tries to keep on good terms with the white-collar engineers in his department, and with fellow-workers and Union leaders. Outside the plant, he is trying to strengthen his relationships with the members of the comunidad ejidal to which he belongs and developing his personal friendship with the son of the comisariado ejidal, who is the actual presidente municipal of the municipality to which El Rincón belongs. He is

also reinforcing his relations with his relatives in Guadalajara to have access to higher education for his children.

Thus, we see that, unlike Don Andrés and Don Marcos, Don José is very active in the two areas of his life: the industrial and agricultural sectors. Unlike Don Andrés and Don Marcos he has not cut his links with poorer relatives and keeps "giving them a hand" whenever he possibly can. These differences are explained by the fact that he entered industrial work late and by his involvement in the comunidad ejidal where he has high respect. To maintain his status and his "privileges" he feels that he has to give something in return and that is why he tries to bring some improvements to the community where he lives.

The second cement worker is Don Camerino, who is married to Don José's niece. Unlike Don José, he started his industrial career early in life. Before this, he worked in a number of casual jobs, as he had no access to his father's ejidal plot. However, like Don José, he acquired skills that proved useful later. Once in the cement plant, Don Camerino has been committed to obtaining the best out of it. He is presently receiving a good salary, his family expenses are low as his children are still very young, he has a house, a car and all the modern conveniences they can desire. Thus he is in an advantageous position for managing his social relationships independently. He has in fact cut relationships with his parents (they quarrelled), strengthened his relations within the factory with employees and fellow-workers, and tries to keep good relations with the ejidatarios and the authorities of the ejido where he lives. He has particularly close ties with his in-laws (mainly his wife's

parents, brothers and Don José). They are well-to-do ejidatarios with access to much local information and gossip. These latter relationships may prove strategic later if he invests in agriculture as he plans.

Turning now to the workers of the textile mill, we find a contrasting situation. Although their families have worked for several generations in textiles, they have not succeeded in accumulating the same level of material prosperity as the cement and paper workers. Only one of them, and through a special relationship with the Union leader, owns two houses: houses that were sold very cheaply by the French management. None of them has a car, plots of land (urban or rural), or types of modern conveniences that we find in the houses of the cement and paper mill workers. As we will see in the genealogical analysis that follows, nor have their children achieved the same educational levels as those of Tolteca and Atenquique workers. Three of the cases are women. At the time of the research (1979-80), just a few women were still working in the mills. The current policy of the management was not to hire women any more. The great majority of them had been dismissed during the modernizations of the 1950's. The few that are still working are waiting for retirement in a few years time.

These case studies show that women were fired without proper indemnization or retirement pensions. They were even transferred into difficult shifts (night shifts) so as to pressure them to resign. Unlike men, women were never allowed to achieve top positions within the production process. Several of our informants had brothers or fathers in positions as chiefs (jefes) of depart-

ments, but no woman succeeded in rising to this level. Having a top position, or being a member of the Union Executive Committee is important for economic betterment and this, in turn, enables one to give a better education to one's children.

In Chapter IV, which deals with the history of the textile mills and their Union, I documented that women were the first in promoting the creation of a Union within the mill. But they were very soon displaced by men and pushed out of leadership positions. For some time they were even forbidden to take part in the elections for Union office. Later they were once more allowed to take part, but there is little evidence of prominent women in the contemporary leadership of the Union. Women have always been kept in a secondary position. Their labour force was preferred, like that of children, when there were no laws to protect them from over-exploitation. But once the State started regulating working conditions, hiring women was less profitable than hiring men. Thus the management of the factories preferred to hire men. Women, who need to work to maintain their families or supplement the poor economy of their husbands, are now available as cheap labour for the maquila system of production, which plays an increasing part in the economy of Guadalajara.

The case studies indicate that the use of social networks by the textile workers is different from that of the Atenquique and Tolteca workers. The individuals involved in the textile mills are more family-oriented. They do not look for relations outside the mill and its compounds. This is, in part, due to the fact that they do not have enough resources to diversify their domestic economy or relationships. And even when they do have

resources they tend to restrict their networks to the textile worker community. For example, one of our informants, who is a relative of a former Union leader, has started a business selling electrical appliances on an instalment basis, but he only operates among the textile workers and their families in the Atemajac and Experiencia mills.

Kinship and friendship ties within the factory are the only ties that they seem to care about. Only among Union leaders do we find the development of a solid network of relationships outside the factory: these are mainly Union officials at regional and national level and with the municipality authorities.

The differences in the use of networks and in life perceptions and ideology are also based on the different socio-cultural milieux where they live. We have seen that Don Andrés and Don Marcos, who live in Tuxpan, do not have the same ideas as do, for instance, Don José and Don Camerino who live in the small and traditional community of El Rincón. These differences, due to different cultural milieux, are even more visible if we compare the "enclave" workers' patterns of behaviour and those of the textile mill workers, particularly in their use of their networks of social relations. We have seen that, in the case of the textile workers, they confine their relationships to their families and to the families who live in the same factory-town. These differences do not have their source only in economic differences. They have their origins in the different social backgrounds, and also in the policies of the State, which aim to control the population. In Don José's case study we stressed his commitment towards the community, his participation in the <u>fiestas</u> as a <u>mayordomo</u>

(sponsor), and his involvement in the betterment of the community. Don Camerino, also an inhabitant of this small community, seeks the help and approval of the community. Hence these small communities created around a factory or around a hacienda had, as Terradas says (Terradas, 1978: 49), "many of the features of enclosed communities and "total institutions" ". These communities were created artificially around the mill or the hacienda in order to provide it with labour force; a labour force that was supposed not to give problems. Thus the owners of the factories or haciendas provided their own police, church and school, and they succeeded in creating a feeling of belonging, of loyalty, of proudness of being a member of the community. Thus the same workers, as it were, became their own controllers. Terradas comments that:

> Kinship in the colony .... makes political sense only at the level of a wider coalitional group. The attitudes, ideas and sentiments of the nuclear family are socialized, and receive social expression at the level of the kinship group.
>
> (Terradas, 1978: 45)

In the case of Atenquique, the paper mill, we have seen that the management also created a factory-town with the same characteristics: paternalism, self-containment, morals (no alcohol), and this resulted in an apathetic labour force who did not participate in decision making. This was reinforced by the characteristics of the Union.

In the case of the textile mills we know that La Experiencia and Atemajac were, and to some extent still are, self-contained communities. For instance, La Experiencia, as described in the book "Cien años de Actividad Social en la Fábrica La Experiencia 1851-1951", was a walled community. The doors were locked at 10

o'clock at night and a porter was on duty all night. There were "serenos" (night watchmen) who patrolled the town during the night. Nobody was allowed within the compounds of the factory-town after the gates were locked. The town was provided with all the services it needed: a market, shops, mill, church, school, jail, and amenities, like a brass band, football team, and theatre company. All the latter were composed of inhabitants of the town and sometimes directed by members of the management. The local police was headed by the manager, who delegated some power to top-job workers. Thus workers in top jobs had the same status within and outside the mill. In addition to this, as whole families worked in the factory, the family hierarchy was reproduced within the factory: younger men respecting elders, women respecting men. Women never achieved top jobs. The management exercised a deep paternalism expressed in the housing system, and the courses for cookery and dressmaking established by them and sometimes given by the wives of the members of the management. Another important means of control was the church. Through cathechism and religion the management maintained a strong hold over the working class. We have seen in the history of the Union that at one time the Union was a Catholic union headed by the local priest. The importance of catholicism continues with the fiestas, mayordomías, visits of the Virgen de Zapopan still functioning as significant events in the life of the community. While I was doing field research, I had trouble in getting hold of some women ex-workers of the mill as they were too busy preparing the flowers, the decorations, and the breakfasts for the musicians and entertainers which needed to be ready for the arrival of the Virgencita to the local church. Needless to say, everybody cooperated with the expenses incurred,

if not with the actual preparations. Perhaps it is in these fiestas and in the football competitions that are organised that the feeling of belonging is best translated. Although the two mills have always been under the same management, the workers of each have always exhibited a marked rivalry vis-à-vis each other. This is clearly shown in the football matches and the brass band competitions that are organised.

This sentiment of being part of a community and of being proud of it reinforces itself and so the members of the community become "incapsulated" in their own institutions, and kinship links (cf. Mayer, 1963: 292). As we have seen in the case studies, this incapsulation is still alive in the textile mills, although due to a change of policy (i.e. women and children are not, any longer, allowed to work in the mill) and the decline of the textile industry, the families are obliged to look for jobs elsewhere. Thus fewer and fewer family members work in the mills. This change in the economic strategies of the families is gradually leading to an opening up of the community and will, no doubt, alter the present way of life, and social networks, and cultural orientations of these families. In the next chapter we deal with the genealogies of the eight interviewees. This assists in clarifying the types of inter-generational changes that have taken place.

CHAPTER VII THE GENEALOGIES

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to analyse the genealogical data provided by the eight case studies, in order to trace changes in labour markets, educational levels and social mobility over four generations. Changes in the labour market give a picture of the changes in the structure of the region and in the occupational opportunities offered to its inhabitants. Changing levels of education provide, in addition to an account of the educational opportunities existing in the area, evidence of the gradual penetration of the Central State:

> In 1921 the Federal Ministry of Public Education (Secretaría de Educación Publica Federal) was created. Its main function was to channel educational resources to the whole country and to create a new type of national ideology. The teachers, together with the Comisariados Ejidales, would be the leaders of a new rural Mexico, instead of the priests and political chiefs of previous times.
>
> (de la Peña, 1980: 345)

And patterns of social mobility are the results of these changes, together with that of migration.

I will attempt to identify the causes and conditions of such variations between and within generations by linking the genealogical data with the changes that have been outlined in the Introduction and in the three chapters dealing with the history of the factories.

Let me start by reiterating the main structural changes that have taken place and by linking them with the four generations we are concerned with. The first generation (the grandparents of our informants) is located within the nineteenth century when the

South of Jalisco and Guadalajara were more self-contained and their development more tied to the expansion of internal markets. Haciendas and ranchos were producing for these expanding regional markets. The second and third generations, made up of the parents and uncles of our informants, our informants, their brothers and cousins, are located in the period when the Central State started acquiring more power and importance and began to undermine that of the regional powers, although before consolidating its control it had to put up with several crises, such as the Revolution and La Cristiada. These violent events, and the following more effective centralization, resulted in the bankruptcy of many regional-based enterprises, leading to high rates of out-migration and to the establishment of new types of industries: the "enclave" industries. The fourth generation is located in the modern period, and is made up of the workers' children and their siblings' children. A comparison of the levels of education and occupations of the members of the fourth generation enables us to assess the importance of industrial work as a means of social mobility. The case studies showed that the main investment made by the paper and cement factory workers was in education. We now need to compare the educational results of the industrial workers' children against those of the children of parents not engaged in industrial work.

Throughout the discussion of each of the four generations I will try to identify the conditioning assets for achieving social mobility: land, education, industrial work, migration. The economic disruption suffered by the area created a high rate of out-migration. I will use the genealogical data to give an account of the characteristics of the migrants and of the patterns

of migration (who migrates and where, which kind of migrant chooses which kind of destination?), and I will try to determine whether these patterns and characteristics vary through the generations.

The genealogical data also allow us to make comparisons between the sexes, looking at differences in levels of education and types of occupations achieved by men and women. I will be particularly interested in establishing what are, in general, the career paths open to women in the region and in Guadalajara, generation by generation.

In addition, these data give a view of the links that exist between our interviewees and their relatives. Have they lost or cut contact with the migrants or with the relatives left behind? Do they have contacts with relatives who have migrated to Guadalajara (urban-rural links), the USA or elsewhere? Have they contacts (in the case of the paper and cement workers) with their brothers, or other near relatives, who are still engaged in agricultural work and hence probably of lower economic status? In the case of the textile mills, which were organised as industrial colonies with their own town-factories, have the workers cut off their relations with other groups not connected with the textile mills? All these questions are important and must be explored if we wish to answer questions concerning the levels of cohesion among the working class and the possibilities for broadly based working class organisation and political action.

Long argues, in relation to the Mantaro area of Central Peru, that

> differences in occupation and education tend to generate patterns of status differentiation which reduce the possibility of collaboration among siblings, and which can, in some cases, lead to almost complete severance of relations between them.
>
> (Long, 1972: 13)

Using the genealogical data,* I will try to figure out what is the pattern among the two different sets of workers in Jalisco and Guadalajara and from there to infer the possibilities for future class organisation. The cutting off of links and the favouring of others might also result from State or enterprise policies aimed at increasing centralized control of peasant and worker populations. Thus the inhabitants of the factory-towns, old and new, have a different way of using their social networks than do the enclave workers. This results partly from the policies imposed by the management over the families inhabiting the factory-towns. These policies were aimed at creating a docile labour force.

In attempting this inter-generational analysis, which focuses upon the sequence of genealogical generations in relation to historical change, it has been necessary to treat one of the genealogies (consisting of five generations) in a special manner. All

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* Appendix VI comprises eight genealogical charts and information on the social characteristics of individuals appearing in each genealogy. The latter comprises the following data: place of birth, year of birth, sex, place of residence, educational level, occupation and some additional comments (migration, whether deceased, Union posts etc.). In the following analysis I refer to some individuals who are particularly important. I do so by giving three references: the roman numerals refer to the family (i.e., I, is Don Andrés' family, VI is Doña Aurora's family, etc.) in the order in which they appear in the case study chapters: the letters A, B, C, D, E, refer to the generations (A is the first gereration, B the second, etc.); and the arabic numbers refer to the placing of the individuals in the relevant list and in the chart. Thus VI C 38 is in Doña Aurora's genealogy, third generation, individual number 38.

but one of the genealogies consist of four generations depth; only Don Rosalío (V) has five. However by an examination of the life spans of the individuals in the latter case suggested that, in historical terms, the second and third generations of Don Rosalío corresponded more or less to the second generation in the other cases. Hence, I here grouped these two generations together and, in consequence, the fourth is placed together with the third of our genealogies and the fifth (i.e. the present-day generation) with the fourth of the other cases.

The generations in the other genealogies match more clearly the sequence of historical periods and therefore present no particular difficulties. This, I believe, is a pragmatic solution to the problem of analysing patterns of inter-generational change against the back-cloth of structural change at regional and local levels.

An alternative method of analysis would have been to have grouped them strictly by birth cohorts (e.g. 1900-10, 1911-20, 1921-1930, etc.). I decided against this because I considered that genealogical generation was a more meaningful social category than simple birth cohort, since it takes account of the specific social background factors and intra-family relationships and resources which, in part, determine the responses to occupational or educational opportunity. It also helps to explain more satisfactorily variations in mobility that arise among families deriving from similar historical periods.

The First Generation (A)

Paper and Cement Workers

Among the grandparent generation (see Appendix VI, genealogical lists I, II, III, IV), we find one landowner, one sharecropper, one day labourer (a peasant and mason), peasants working in *haciendas* and sugar mill workers. All of them were born in the nineteenth century (between 1850 and 1890). They had no formal education, with the exception of the peasants of El Rincón who knew how to read and write and possibly had attended some lessons at the *hacienda* school. Their education and occupations are consistent with the types of opportunities which the region provided during that period. The nineteenth century was a period when the *haciendas* and *ranchos* were booming. *Haciendas*, sugar mills and ranchos were the places to provide jobs. The poorest inhabitants worked as day labourers in agriculture and in services (masons). During this time the State was not able to provide educational facilities. Thus a great majority of the population remained illiterate. Only the *hacendados* sometimes provided their workers with a teacher who tried to give some rudiments of reading, writing, arithmetic and religion. Religious teaching was reinforced by the priest who came to give masses in the *capilla* (chapel) of the *hacienda*.

In this generation, all the individuals were originally from the South of Jalisco. All had been born in the places where they were currently living, with one exception: workers of the sugar mill of San Marcos (municipality of Tonila), who migrated to work in the sugar mill of El Rincón. Both municipalities are located in the South of Jalisco (see map II in the Introduction).

Textile Workers

This first generation (generalogical lists V, VI, VII and VIII) presents much more variety in social origins. Some were born in the area of the haciendas where the textile mills were to be built (i.e. La Escoba), others were born in the municipalities around Guadalajara (Zapotlanejo, Cuquío), and yet others were born in the states surrounding Jalisco (Zacatecas, Nayarit). The textile industry attracted women from nearby states. In the case studies we saw that a widow (grandmother of one of our informants, V A 3) migrated from Nayarit with her two daughters who had already been working in a textile mill in Nayarit. Likewise, several other women and children migrated from the poorer states (Nayarit and Zacatecas) to work in the textile mills. In this generation we already find three mill workers in one of the families (two men and one woman, VI A 2, 3, 4). They worked in several mills (La Escoba, Rio Blanco and Atemajac). As we will see, this tendency increases in the next generations. Like the paper and cement workers, this first generation of textile workers manifests very low educational levels.

The Second Generation (B)

The second generation comprises the parents of our informants and their aunts and uncles on both sides (paternal and maternal). This generation is located at the beginning of the period when the Central State attempts to gain more control in provincial regions. Also during the life span of the individuals who make up this generation, several important historical events took place, particularly the Revolution and La Cristiada. These various

aspects of change are clearly reflected in the information we have for this generation in the individual case studies.

Paper and Cement Workers

The second generation of Don Andrés (I B) is made up by 14 individuals, all of whom were born in Tuxpan at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century. On the paternal side, the occupations were: share-cropper, day labourer, and ejidatario. This second paternal generation witnessed and participated in the Land Reform. On the maternal side, however, we find that several members were small landowners (one of them combined agriculture with trading sugar for a nearby hacienda-sugar mill) and therefore did not qualify for ejido land. One of the younger brothers of this family (I B 13) did not inherit land of his own and therefore had to work with an elder brother (I B 9). The youngest brother did not receive land either; he was an alcoholic and had to be supported by his brothers (I B 9 and 13).

We also find differences in the levels of education on the maternal and paternal sides of this generation. Thus the amount of schooling is higher among the small landowners (they have complete elementary, including a woman: Don Andrés' mother I B 3). The paternal kin have only a few years of elementary school. One common characteristic of both sides of this second generation is that none had migrated. All the members were engaged in agricultural work as small landowners, ejidatarios, or sharecroppers. Furthermore, scarcity of land emerges as a marked tendency: several of the descendants of the maternal smallholder households did not inherit any private plots and the younger members of the

paternal households likewise failed to acquire ejido land.

In the second generation of Don Marcos'-family (II B) we find 16 individuals. Those on the paternal side were born in Pihuamo, a municipality in the South of Jalisco (see map II). Don Marcos' father (II B 1) migrated from Pihuamo to Tuxpan to work as a sharecropper for Don Andrés' maternal kin. His brothers stayed in Pihuamo, but Don Marcos does not know what they did to earn their living. One aunt migrated to Colima with her husband. One uncle migrated to Tuxpan: he was said to be a musician. The maternal side of Don Marcos' family originated from the municipality of Tuxpan, and most of them stayed there where they were employed in agriculture (ranch foreman or small landowner). One woman migrated to Ciudad Guzmán where she married a small landowner, and another went to Manzanillo where she married a sailor. On both the maternal and paternal sides, the educational levels were very low, if not non-existent. Among the sharecroppers and landless peasants we find a pattern of internal migration within the South of Jalisco in search of temporary jobs or, if they are lucky, a propitious marriage.

Don José's second generation (III B) consist of 36 individuals. All the members of Don José's paternal kin were born in El Rincón. The educational levels are low, only a few years of elementary school, although the level of education increases a bit in the case of the youngest members of this generation (III B 23) who achieved fourth year of elementary education. In this generation there is almost no migration, since its members found occupations in agriculture in the recently-formed ejido, or as workers at the sugar mill of the Hacienda El Rincón. Women married ejidatarios.

Only in one case do we find migration by marriage: an aunt (III B 17) of Don José married a day labourer and they went to live in Cd. Guzmán. However, the youngest member (III B 23), who probably did not receive an ejidal plot as he was too young during the repartimiento, migrated to California where he still works in a fruit canning factory. Don José's father migrated temporarily to the USA and from this trip saved enough money to start a butchery business in El Rincón. Only one woman of this generation is described as having an occupation other than housewife: III B 6 inherited an ejidal plot from her husband and is now an ejidataria working the plot with the help of relatives.

On the maternal side, the educational levels are also low, with the exception of two members (III B 34, 36) born and brought up in Zapotiltic, a town somewhat bigger than El Rincón, where educational facilities were better. On this side of the family there is more evidence of migration. Only one of the members succeeded in obtaining an ejido in El Rincón and has become well-to-do. He now owns a tractor. There is one aunt who migrated to Talpa but the family has since lost contact with her. Several relatives migrated during the years of the decline and closure of the hacienda sugar mill. For example, one migrated to Guadalajara (III B 28), and another to Campeche (III B 36) to work in a sugar mill there. Both were previously workers of El Rincón sugar mill.

The second generation of Don Camerino's family (IV B) is made up of 23 individuals, all of them born in El Rincón. The educational levels are, like the other cases, low and many members were illiterate. On the paternal side, we find ejidatarios, day labourers, and ex-sugar mill workers (migrated to Apatzingán).

Two ejidatarios (IV B 1, 14) combined working in their plots with other economic activities. One has a butchery business and corner shop, and the other works at the Tamazula sugar mill. The women are married to ejidatarios. Only one migrated to Apatzingán with her husband. On the maternal side, there is some migration due to the same cause: ex-workers of the sugar mill were obliged to migrate to Guadalajara and elsewhere to find a new source of income. One of Don Camerino's uncles (IV B 16), who had completed elementary school, migrated to Mexico City. He worked there as a driver. His somewhat higher level of education enabled him to migrate from El Rincón and find work in the national capital.

The lives and occupational careers of this second generation of the families of paper and cement workers, then, reflect the main events and changes characteristic of the period in which they were placed. The historical events are poignantly revealed by the reported deaths of two of the members of this generation: one of them in the Revolution, the other during La Cristiada. The struggle for Land Reform is likewise reflected in the fact that two of the members of this generation (III B 8, 12) were ejidal leaders. Despite this, however, the shortage of available land is evidenced by the fact that most individuals were very small landowners, with several younger persons receiving no ejido plots. Hence they were forced to work the land of others or to migrate. Later migration became even more important when several members of this generation, who were working at the sugar mill of El Rincón, had to look for other jobs when the mill closed down in the 1950's. In addition to this type of migration, we find cases of peasant-ejidatarios travelling to the USA for seasonal

work. The product of this seasonal migration is invested in buying machinery (tractors) or in establishing small enterprises (butcheries, corner shops). Another kind of migration is the permanent movement to Mexico City and to the USA. It appears that migrants to the capital city had completed their elementary education, and those to the USA mostly had achieved fourth year of elementary school. The levels of education for men and women seem to have been much the same. One woman (Don Andrés' mother, I B 3), from a small landowning family, had finished her elementary education. Among the women in this generation, none engaged in work outside their homes, although some had migrated due to marriage.

In summary, then, we can say that in this generation there is a predominance of agricultural occupations and still a low rate of out-migration. As we shall see, by the third generation, this picture changes drastically.

Textile Workers

Here the second generation (our informants' parents, aunts and uncles) covers the end of the nineteenth century to the beginning of the twentieth, that is, it overlaps with the first generation of the paper and cement workers. Thus, in the case of Don Rosalío's genealogy (V B + C) we take the second and third generations together and later treat the fourth and fifth generations as corresponding to the third and fourth generations in the other cases.

Don Rosalío's family is made up by a much reduced number of individuals, due to the fact that his grandmother and aunts migrated from Nayarit and lost contact with the family there. Don Rosalío has kept contact only with his father and, in fact, managed to bring him to Atemajac and find a job for him. Don Rosalío's contacts are more with his wife's family. The second generation in Don Rosalío's genealogy is made up by four individuals (born around 1880). All but one of them was engaged in textile work (V B 2). His father and his two aunts were workers at the Atemajac mill. They were illiterate. From this generation only Don Rosalío's mother did not work. She was a housewife and died very young. The third generation consists of eight individuals born in the 1900's. All of them - except Don Rosalío's half-brother (V C 2) who stayed in Nayarit and remained a peasant - worked in textiles. Don Rosalío's wife (V C 3) and sisters-in-law (V C 4, 6, 7), were all working in the mill and married mill workers. Their levels of education were very low.

We have here the case of complete families employed in the same mill. This practice seems to have been quite frequent in textile mills set up as industrial colonies (see Hareven and Langenback, 1978 and Terradas, 1978). This made families completely dependent on the factories as they did not have any alternative source of income, and management could use this as a means of social and labour control. Doña Aurora's second generation confirms this pattern. It is made up of 13 members (VI B 1-13). Ten of them were mill workers. From these ten, only one woman quitted industrial work when she married a trader. Doña Aurora's mother was a housewife and died very young. She never worked in the mills. One of her brothers (VI B 7) migrated from La Escoba

to Santa Cruz de las Flores and became a carpenter. All of them were literate; maybe they learned how to read and write at the mill school.

Doña Dolores' family (VII B) also illustrates the pattern of occupational incapsulation. The second generation in this case is made up of seven members, five of whom were mill workers. We lack information about their educational levels but we can suspect that they were literate, as all of them were born in La Escoba and La Experiencia and they probably had attended school there. The two members of this generation who did not engage in mill work were Doña Dolores' mother (VII B 5), who was a housewife, and a half-sister of Doña Dolores' father (VII B 2) who married a baker and migrated to Guadalajara. Of the individuals working in textiles, one went to Veracruz to work in the mills located there.

The second generation of Doña Adelaida's family (VIII B) is different. Many of the members who constituted it remained in the rural areas (Zapotlanejo) and did not migrate to Guadalajara to work in the textile industry. On the paternal side, one of Doña Adelaida's uncles (VIII B 3) returned to Zapotlanejo to his lands. On the maternal side, none worked in textiles. Those living in Zapotlanejo were involved in agriculture and fruit production. Two of them migrated to Guadalajara and one became a baker (VIII B 13). The other worked as a day labourer. In this generation, only two members were mill workers. The members of this generation who were born in La Escoba were literate, although on the maternal side those born in Zapotlanejo were illiterate. This family follows the patterns of occupation and education presented by the families of the cement and paper workers:

mainly agricultural occupations and migration to look for jobs.

From the total of 45 individuals who made up this second generation of the textile workers' families, 27 (men and women) were engaged in textile work (60%). From these 45 individuals, 19 were women, of whom ten were working in the mills (53%); of the 26 men, 17 were mill workers (65%). As we emphasised from the beginning, the mills adopted the policy of employing whole families. Three of our four examples fit this pattern of employment.

The Third Generation (C)

The third generation (our informants, their brothers and cousins) witnessed the economic disruption of the region and the end of what remained of its relative independence, autonomy and self-containment. This generation was faced with the establishment of the enclave industries in the area and the absorbtion or destruction of the existing small-scale local industries. They also witnessed the increasing use of land for the production of commercial crops (i.e. sugar-cane, sorghum) to the detriment of crops for local consumption. All this resulted in high rates of unemployment and high out-migration.

Paper and Cement Workers

The third generation of Don Andrés' family (I C) is made up by 47 individuals. The paternal side consists of 35 individuals born between 1933 and 1964. The youngest children are in fact contemporaries of their nephews in the fourth generation and, compared with older siblings, have achieved higher educational

levels (see I C, 7, 17, 18, 19, 20, 31, 32, 33), since during their youth there were more educational facilities in the area (e.g. the teachers' training school and the technical college in Ciudad Guzmán, another technical college in Tuxpan, and several secondary and pre-university schools in Tuxpan, Ciudad Guzmán and Zapotiltic). Their educational expenses were frequently met by their elder brothers. Family background, of course, is also important for educational achievements. Hence we noticed that small landowners' sons born in the 1930's (e.g. I C 42, 44, 46, 47, I C 1, 8, 9) had somewhat better educational standards than others. Women had slightly less education than men of the same age and status. But the main difference between sexes is occupational. For example, we find 17 women, of these, ten stayed at home doing housework. The remaining seven became: teachers (four, one of whom was a headmistress), a nurse and two students at technical colleges. Furthermore, only one of the women practising an occupation was born in the 1930's; all the others are younger (born in the 1950's). Four of these women with an occupational skill had to migrate to nearby locations for work.

Of the 18 men who form the paternal side of Don Andrés' third generation, we find a strong emphasis on activities still related to agriculture: two are small landowners (one of them is Don Andrés, a worker at Atenquique), two are sharecroppers, two ejidatarios and two day labourers. There is only one tradesman - a mason. Only four men of this generation work outside agriculture: a civil servant, a priest, a lawyer in Guadalajara and a seminarist in Colima. On average, these migrants have a higher education than those remaining behind. Amongst the younger

members we find six students at different levels who are carrying on their education (I C 21, 22, 32, 33, 34, 35). Thus, agricultural occupations are predominant among individuals who remain in Tuxpan, but when migrating education is important.

The maternal side of this third generation is made up of the offspring of two families of small landowners. The first of these families had only three daughters, each of whom inherited a plot of land. They married a teacher, a worker at the paper mill and a small landowner. They worked as housewives, and, according to Don Andrés, at least one had completed her elementary education. The second family apparently had less land and only two children inherited: one of the daughters married to an ejidatario, and a son who owns a corner shop in Tuxpan. The rest of the offspring went into occupations other than agriculture: one of them migrated to San Luis Potosí where he works as a mechanic, the other two found jobs in Atenquique and have since achieved positions in the Union Executive Committee. Their careers in the Union were made easier because they had finished elementary education (see Chapter II). In this branch of the third generation, all the women are housewives, and probably had less education than the men. From the 47 individuals who make up this generation, 40 were born in Tuxpan, and of these, 31 (78%) were still living in Tuxpan, only nine having migrated (three to Guadalajara, two to Ciudad Guzmán, one to San Luis Potosí, one to Tamazula, one to Colima and one to an unknown destination). Nevertheless, the rate of out-migration (22%) is not very high. Many small landowners, it seems, have been able to survive on their small plots. And Atenquique provided some work to a few of them (e.g. I C 8, 39, 46 and 47).

Don Marcos' third generation (II C) is made up of 35 individuals. As we have described in the case study, his father was a sharecropper from Pihuamo who moved from one place to another in search of jobs. This geographical mobility is reflected in the fact that Don Marcos' siblings were born in Pihuamo, Tuxpan and Zapotiltic. Five of them have now migrated themselves: two to Colima and three to Guadalajara. Don Marcos' brothers are masons and his sister is married to a mason in Guadalajara. The three remaining in Tuxpan are Don Marcos himself, and two sisters: one married to a peasant who is crippled, which obliges her to work as a maid, and the other to a carpenter who works for Unión Forestal, the company that provides the paper mill with its raw material. The educational levels of both men and women are very low, no more than fourth year of elementary school. All women work as housewives, with the exception of the sister who is a maid. Don Marcos did not have enough information about two of the families who make up this paternal branch: the family who stayed in Pihuamo and the one who migrated to Colima.

The brother of his father (II B 4), the musician, had four children born in Tuxpan in the 1940's. They achieved better education (fourth year of complete elementary school) and then migrated to Mexico City, the eldest to work in a binders shop; the second as an employee in a spare parts shop; the third as a lathe operator; and the fourth, a daughter, married a worker in a rum factory. Thus, on the paternal side of Don Marcos' family, we find a high rate of out-migration: from 14 individuals born in Pihuamo or Tuxpan, 11 (79%) have migrated to Colima, Guadalajara and Mexico City. Those individuals who migrated to Mexico City had a slightly higher educational level (fifth year or elementary).

Another interesting feature to note is the low rate of agricultural employment: only two individuals (two in-laws) were engaged in agricultural activities (II C 2 and II C 23).

Those individuals composing the maternal side of the third generation were born around the 1920's. They are grouped into four families. The only son (II C 26) of the ranch foreman migrated to Guadalajara and became a baker. He had second year of elementary school. Here, again, we find that the children of small landowners had more opportunities to study. The two daughters (II C 31 and 33) of the family of small landowners achieved elementary education, one married a trader in Ciudad Guzmán, the other remained single and earned her living by running a small restaurant. The children of the family of unknown occupation (II C 27, 29 and 30) were born in Tuxpan and all achieved a low educational level. One was an illiterate housewife (II C 27) married to a day labourer; another (II C 29) had some years of elementary school and became a worker of Atenquique; and the other (II C 30) bought some land. The sons (II C 34 and 35) of the sailor came to live in Tuxpan and became workers of the paper mill. They had complete elementary education.

Among the members of the maternal side of Don Marcos' family, we find only one migrant to Guadalajara, the rest remained in their places of origin. The women are housewives, with slightly less formal education than the men. Only one of them works to earn her living. Nevertheless the level of education is generally low, only in the cases of the small landowners and the sailor could the children achieve complete elementary education.

We see that in Don Marcos' family the rate of out-migration is higher than in Don Andrés' case. The fact that Don Andrés' family was able to keep its land and become ejidatarios made it possible for them to stay in the region. Yet despite this difference in both families, out-migration increases as land becomes scarce and as educational facilities allow some children to achieve technical and semi-professional training. This third generation is already closely involved with the enclave industries: the paper mill and the Unión Forestal. But the rate of out-migration is high. From 12 individuals born in Tuxpan, six (50%) had migrated to Guadalajara, Colima and Mexico City. The individuals born in Pihuamo had migrated to Guadalajara and Colima mainly.

The third generation of Don José's family (III C) comprises an incredible 125 members, born between 1929 and 1970. These individuals are mainly sons of ejidatarios, ex-sugar mill workers, day labourers and ejidatarios who combined agriculture with some kind of trade (e.g. corner shop, butchery, or were sons of migrants (during the second generation) to the USA, Guadalajara, Zapotiltic or Mexico City.

The paternal side is made up of one hundred individuals. The families in this branch of the genealogy present the following patterns. Among the ex-sugar mill worker's sons we find ejidatarios and day labourers, born in the 1920's and 1930's, and living in El Rincón. The eldest are ejidatarios and the last two brothers are day labourers. Probably the reparto de tierras (land allotment) left them as ejidatarios con derechos a salvo (young members of the ejido who would receive land on attaining 18 years). Although most of them actually never received land as there were no ampliaciones

(enlargement-extensions) of the ejidos and thus no land available to allocate them plots.

The shortage of land is also visible in the families of ejidatarios. We notice among these families that normally the son who inherits the ejidal plot remains in El Rincón, the rest migrate to Guadalajara or elsewhere in search of work. This is the case for Don José's brothers who migrated to Guadalajara and the USA. It is also true for the case of the next family (III C 27, 29, 31, 33) whose plot is still being worked by the mother but where all the sons have migrated to Guadalajara. The daughters have remained in El Rincón and are married to a bus driver and an ejidatario.

Amongst the younger members of the families of ejidatarios, who did not receive plots, we find a higher rate of out-migration, although some of them managed to find non-agricultural jobs locally: in Tolteca (III C 11, 41, 59, 78, 81, 82); in the limestone works.(III C 91), or as local bus drivers, day labourers, masons and corner shop owners. A few undertook seasonal migration to the USA (III C 53, 87, 94), or were still studying. Those families of ejidatarios who were able to open a business (e.g. butchery, corner shop, tractor hiring service) are more capable of retaining their offspring in the area (III C 48, 51, 52). They also can give them a better education. And, those who cannot find jobs in El Rincón have migrated to Guadalajara, Ciudad Guzmán and the USA.

The migrants to Guadalajara are involved in activities such as cabinet making, working in a balloon factory (III C 15, 16, 24), or working as drivers and drivers' assistants in soft-drinks com-

panies, day labourers and workers in a water filter factory. An examination of the workplaces of the migrants to Guadalajara show that several members of this third generation are clustered together in the same factory or in the same kind of job. Thus we have five members working as drivers (III C 19, 28, 30, 37, 68) and five working in the water filter factory (III C 23, 38, 50, 57, 93). The latter number increases to ten when we take account of the members of Don Camerino's family (IV C) who are also working there. This suggests that relations between migrants in Guadalajara and their families back in El Rincón persist and work towards helping members to migrate and to find jobs. We notice also that several migrants are better educated and younger than those left behind, the majority of them having a fourth year elementary, and one, secondary. There are also many women who migrate through marriage. Frequently they are married to men with the same occupations as their brothers: drivers, employees, workers, masons. Their educational levels are slightly lower than the men's. The migrants to Ciudad Guzmán are mainly women, who have married there or are men who trade fruit and vegetables (III C 72, 73, 74).

The maternal side of the third generation of Don José's family is made up of five families (III C). He did not have information about one family that had migrated to Mexico City. Another family (III C 101-109) presents a rather unusual occupational pattern as all the sons are ejidatarios, even the younger one. This, I think, can be explained by the fact that their father is an ejido leader, has high status in the community and is described as "someone with privileges". He has been able, through seasonal migration, to accumulate enough capital to buy

a tractor. With the help of his children, he hires out the tractor and labour force to cultivate other people's plots. Because of the considerable income from this, nobody in the family has migrated. The next three families are second generation migrants to Guadalajara (III C 110-118) and Zapotiltic (III C 119-120 and III C 122-125). Those in Guadalajara work as masons and housewives. One of the Zapotiltic families has two daughters working, one as a nurse and the other as a secretary (III C 119 and 120). Both are single. The other Zapotiltic family is made up of ejidatarios (III C 122-125). Don José has lost contact with some members of this family and knows only the two sons, one of whom works as an employee in Tolteca (he has complete elementary education) and the other (also with complete elementary education) is a worker at Incalpa (the lime-stone works).

In this third generation, there are 84 individuals born in El Rincón. From these, 43 (51%) are still living there. Guadalajara received the bigger number of migrants: 28 (33%), followed by Ciudad Guzmán (8%) and the USA (6%). Probably the rate of out-migration will increase in the near future as the younger members, who are still students, start looking for employment. On top of that, we must remember that in the previous generation there were already several families who had migrated from El Rincón to Zapot-iltic, Guadalajara, Mexico City and the USA.

The educational level is low among the majority of the members of this generation (some years of elementary education or complete elementary education). Nevertheless the level rises to secondary education or technical or semi-professional training

amongst the younger members. The educational levels are more or less the same for men and women, but the latter generally do not have occupations outside the house. We only found one woman engaged in the balloon factory (III C 15), a nun (III C 44)., a bank employee (III C 119) and a nurse (III C 120).

The third generation of Don Camerino's family (IV C) is made up of 81 individuals. The patterns these families present to us fit in with the previous picture drawn by Don José's family. Educational levels are more stable; almost all the members have completed their elementary education. This is no doubt due to the fact that they are younger (born between 1936 and 1972). Yet only a few of them have achieved more than elementary schooling. This occurs mainly amongst the migrants to Guadalajara, here we find two lawyers and two who have completed their secondary education: IV C 57, 58 and IV C 56 and 59. Only one migrant to Colima has secondary education: the nun (IV C 73).

The occupational and migration patterns follow the same rules: movement of the members of families who do not have access to land, if possible, into local regional work in industry, agriculture or trade (e.g. like masonry). The rest have migrated to Guadalajara, Sinaloa, USA, Queretaro and Colima. The great majority have gone to Guadalajara, where they work in the water filter factory (IV C 13, 14, 18, 38, 41), or as masons, lathe operators and upholsterers. There are also five brothers clustered together in an "informal" sock factory (IV C 60, 62, 63, 64, 65). The remainder work as bus drivers, traders, shop assistants and civil servants. All but one of the women in this generation work

exclusively as housewives, even though their educational level is about the same as men. Many have migrated through marriage. Among the migrants, there are four living in the USA whose occupations we do not know. There was no noticeable difference in their levels of education compared to Guadalajara migrants or to individuals still living in El Rincón.

In this third generation we have 56 individuals born in El Rincón: of these, 31 (55%) have migrated. Guadalajara, again, is the city that received most migrants: 23 (41%). Some other individuals (IV C 56, 57, 58, 59 and IV C 76, 78, 80) were born in Guadalajara when their families migrated there.

The pattern of employment in Guadalajara is the same as in the case of Don José's family: families or members of this generation clustered in the same factories or in the same kinds of employment. This is shown by the fact that between the two families there are ten persons working in the water filter factory (III C 23, 38, 50, 57, 93 and IV C 13, 14, 18, 38, 41). It also seems that rural-urban ties are kept and are useful for obtaining jobs or housing in the city.

From this exposition of the general occupational and educational characteristics of the members of these four families, we can see that small landowners have, until now, a greater chance of remaining in their places of origin. Hence there is less out-migration amongst Don Andrés' family than amongst Don Marcos'. The most affected by the lack of jobs or the scarcity of land were the families of Don José and Don Camerino whose members earned their livings from agriculture or who worked in the sugar mill. When the latter was taken over by the Tamazula sugar mill, several

members of the third generation were obliged to migrate. The educational levels are generally no higher than elementary schooling: only in a few cases, and in the cases of younger members of the generation, do we find post-elementary education and, in very few cases, university level. Technical and semi-professional training is somewhat more frequent, although still scarce.

Textile Workers

In the case of Don Rosalío, it is the fourth generation (V D) that covers the period we are interested in. This generation comprises Don Rosalío's children and the children of his wife's brothers, and is made up of seven individuals, all of them born in Atemajac (there is also Don Rosalío's adopted son who was born in Nayarit). Six of the seven members of this generation have, at some time in their lives, been workers in the textile mills. Both of Don Rosalío's children have been workers of the mill: his daughter quit when she married a lathe operator and left with him for the USA; his son worked in the mill until he migrated to the USA where he is now a mechanic. Don Rosalío's adopted child is at present working at the mill. From his five nephews (all children of textile mill workers), four worked in the mill. The only one who did not work in textiles went to Guadalajara and became a shop assistant. One nephew (V D 6) succeeded in cornering the Union leadership for more than 20 years until his death in 1976.

We do not have information about the educational levels of all the members of this family, but it seems that only two individuals have completed their elementary education; the rest had a

few years only. The only woman who appears in this generation was a mill worker, with fourth year of elementary school. However, she resigned her job when she married.

It is important to emphasise the fact that several mill workers left their jobs to look for better futures elsewhere. In contrast, this does not happen in the enclave industries, where the salaries are superior to those found elsewhere.

Doña Aurora's third generation (VI C) is made up of 38 individuals. Of these, 13 have been involved in textile work (34%). We found that in families where one of the parents is engaged in textile work the tendency is for there to be a greater number of children involved in the mills (e.g. VI C 8, 10, 11, 13, 14 and 18, 19, 21 and 26, 27, 28, 29, 30). Nevertheless there are exceptions, for instance VI C 3, 4, 5, 6, 7 and 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, who are children of textile workers but have other occupations due to achieving a higher level of education than the average for this generation (e.g. pre-university, university, semi-professional training). These families were able to give their children better education, because their household heads attained top jobs in the textile mills. One of them was foreman of the spinning department, the other, a loom-fixer. Only in the case of both parents working in the mills (VI C 37 and 38) do we find mill workers in a position to finance higher education. The two children in this family became a lawyer and a secretary.

The women not engaged in textile work are housewives married to mill workers, bus drivers, workers or employees in other factories, and traders. Some of these women were ex-mill workers who quit their jobs when they got married. Others, like Doña Aurora,

had worked in the mills all their life. Outside mill work and the occupations described above, we only find one woman (a widow): she is employed in a chinese restaurant.

Among the members of the third generation the rate of out-migration is low: a woman who married and went with her husband to the USA, a man who migrated to Santa Cruz de las Flores, Jalisco, to work as a carpenter, and four women who migrated when they got married: one to Sonora, one to Tijuana, and two to León. The rest of the generation reside in Guadalajara, although some of them came from the ex-factory towns of La Experiencia or Atemejac.

Doña Dolores' third generation (VII C) is made up of three families (15 individuals in all). The first, a baker's household (VII C 1, 2, 3) had three children who were literate: the eldest daughter migrated through marriage to Mexico City, the second was a housewife, but nothing is known of her fate, and the third became a carpenter in Guadalajara. The second family (VII C 4, 5, 6), whose head was a loom fixer, was composed of three children, all of them literate (probably with complete elementary education) but none working in the textile industry: one was a musician, another an employee of the railways and the third married an employee of the railways. The third family (VII C 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14, 15), whose head was likewise aloom fixer, was made up of seven children, one of whom being Doña Dolores (VII C 8, Case No.7). All but one of them worked in textiles. None had migrated. Their levels of education were generally poor: only in three cases had they completed elementary education.

The third generation of Doña Adelaida's family (VIII C) is made up of 22 individuals: few of them have been involved in textile work. On the paternal side, there are four individuals, two involved in mill work. One woman (VIII C 4), the daughter of a mill worker, quit her job when she got married. The man (VIII C 1) was the son of a small landowner but all his life he worked in the mills. He worked in La Experiencia, Hércules (in Queretaro) and El Salto. The daughters of Tío Agustín (VIII B 4), who was the uncle who helped Doña Adelaida's father when they first arrived in Guadalajara, inherited the shop and never went into the mills.

On the maternal side, we find two families. The children of the baker settled in Guadalajara - three of them became bakers and the youngest a traffic warden. Their educational level was low. The second family is Doña Adelaida's nuclear family. As we saw in the case study, her family was originally from a hacienda near Zapotlanejo. Her five elder sisters married a peasant, a cattle owner, an ejidatario and two agricultural labourers. They all live in places near Guadalajara and Zapotlanejo where their husbands practise their rural occupations. The women work as housewives, with the eldest also taking employment as a maid in order to keep her head above water. Both Doña Adelaida and her husband were mill workers. Doña Adelaida commenced work after the death of her husband. Doña Adelaida's two younger brothers (VIII C 21, 22) became ejidatarios of the Ejido Rio Blanco when it was formed (around 1936). Doña Adelaida's brother-in-law (VIII C 9) was a mill worker and it was through him that her husband found the job in the mill.

The above detailed material shows that individuals who constitute the third generation of mill workers' families are also engaged in textile work. Their level of education is low - elementary at the most. We also notice, however, that among the children of workers in top jobs there is less incidence of mill employment. As they receive better education (some of them even university level) they try to find better jobs in Guadalajara. Once they have secured such a job, they are unlikely to migrate outside the region: they simply stay in Guadalajara. For women migration is normally through marriage. Other migrants have left the textile mills for jobs in other places. This is an index of the low salaries paid in that industry and the beginning of its decline.

In the case of families remaining in the countryside, the patterns of occupation and education are similar to those presented by the families of the cement and paper mill workers. The most striking difference between them and the workers of the cement and paper factories is the fact that, while the latter try to do almost anything to find and keep a job in enclave industries, the textile mill workers quite their jobs to look for something better.

The Fourth Generation (D)

The fourth generation comprises Ego's children and Ego's brothers' children. In Chapters V and VI, I already examined the educational and occupational achievements of these children. Here I will deal with the achievements of their brothers' children. This enables us to compare the different educational and occupational opportunities available to three sets of individuals: children of

individuals engaged in enclave industries, children of individuals engaged in textile work, and children of parents not involved in industrial work.

In the case studies I demonstrated the importance that enclave workers attach to the education of their children. We have also seen that textile workers have not been very successful in providing their children with higher levels of schooling. Here I explore and compare the different possibilities offered to each of these sets of individuals.

Paper and Cement Workers

In the case studies, we saw that several children of the cement and paper workers had already embarked upon university careers and that others intended to do so. Many of the other children have followed their fathers into the same enclave industries. We have also seen that, on the whole, women had less educational opportunities, although a few have achieved university. The educational opportunities for the girls living in small traditional communities (e.g. Don José's daughters), or in families where there were a lot of children were markedly less.

The fourth generation of Don Andrés' family (I D) is made up of 21 individuals, eleven of whom are Don Andrés' own children. Eight of them are studying, two are waiting to start their training and one had not yet attained school age. The children of Don Andrés' brother, who formerly was a small landowner, but who sold his land and now is a day labourer, are five. The two eldest stopped studying when they had finished elementary school: one, a girl, remains at home and the other, a boy, works on his father's farm. The third, also a boy, is studying at elementary school and helps his

father (he is just 12 years old), the two youngest are studying the first years of elementary school. The children of the lawyer (I D 17, 18, 19) are studying secondary and elementary school. They hope to achieve university careers.

Thus we find that Don Andrés' children, in spite of living in Tuxpan and having to move to Guadalajara, which means more expense, have the same educational opportunities as their cousins who are living in Guadalajara. This is not the case with the peasant children. In spite of being fewer than in Don Andrés' progeny, they have not achieved studies beyond the elementary school.

Don Marcos' fourth generation (II D) is made up of eight families, including Don Marcos' own. Two of these were masons in Colima, three were masons in Guadalajara, one a landless peasant in Tuxpan, one a carpenter in Unión Forestal, and the eighth is Don Marcos' family.

Amongst the families of masons in Colima and Guadalajara and the landless peasants of Tuxpan, we found that the highest educational level reached by their children is secondary school and only in three cases (II D 21, 22, 31). And in the case of (II D 21) because he has been fostered by a family of workers at Unión Forestal who were childless. All the other members of these families have, at the most, elementary education, although the youngest members are still studying. We found that women receive less education than men. We even have cases of illiteracy among them (II D 9, 17, 27, 29). None of them has more than elementary education and they are doing housework at their husbands' or fathers' houses, or are maids (II D 9, 14, 18). Men are engaged in jobs such as bus drivers, masons, day labourers, employees (at

butcheries, cinema). Few of them have migrated out of the region: two sons of the landless peasant went to Mexico City to work as masons (II D 1, 3), one daughter of a mason in Guadalajara (II D 23) went with her husband to the USA. The rest remained in the region.

We have seen that in Don Marcos' nuclear family eight of his children are carrying on their studies: from first year of elementary school to university.

The family of the carpenter at Unión Forestal is made up of eight children, one of whom has not yet reached school age. Among the remaining seven, the eldest is doing technical training in Ciudad Guzmán, the second, a girl, is married and has fourth year of elementary schooling, the third is a student at secondary school and then we have three girls who have never attended school (II D 50, 51, 52) and are illiterate. The last is just starting elementary education.

We can see that the workers of the enclave industries are able to give better education to their children. But, in the case of the carpenter at Unión Forestal, women's education is being sacrificed for men's.

The fourth generation of Don José's family is made up of six families, although Don José does not have information about the family of one brother who migrated to the USA. Thus we have the family of a cabinet-maker, the family of the workers in a balloon factory, the family of a driver, and the family of a factory worker, all of whom are living in Guadalajara. Amongst them there are 12 children of school age. Of these 12 children,

eleven are studying secondary or elementary school. Only one girl (III D 19), the daughter of the driver, has quit school with just elementary education. Her four brothers continue studying. As we have seen in Don José's case study, one of his sons is attending university and two others are at elementary school. Two of his daughters have finished elementary school and are waiting for the secondary school to be opened in El Rincón. They hope later to go on to the nurses training school. Somehow the fact of living in a small traditional community is threatening their education as they are not allowed to travel a few miles to attend school in Zapotiltic.

We can see that Don José and his brothers are doing well with regard to their children's education. But we notice, again, that education of male children is achieved to the detriment of girls'. Furthermore we do not know, as the children are still young, how far it will be possible for them to go in their education. The same pattern emerges in the case of Don Camerino's family. His own children are still too young (only the eldest was attending kindergarden), and his brother has only three. The eldest, a boy, is studying pre-university in Ciudad Guzmán; the second, a girl, completed only elementary school and became a seamstress; the third, a girl (eight years old) is just starting elementary school. We notice that Don Camerino's brother, who is a casual worker at Tolteca, is providing higher education to his son; but not to his daughter. Nevertheless, we do not know what will be their final achievements. To try to complete this picture, I will present, at the end of this chapter, some statistical tables related to the educational and occupational achievements of the children of the fourth generation of the 60

interviews carried out in the three factories. But before that let us have a look at the fourth generation of the textile workers.

Textile Workers

In Don Rosalío's case we must consider the fifth generation (V E). The sons of migrants to Chicago, USA, are students there; and the four sons of the mill worker, all born in Atemajac, are studying secondary or elementary school. Then we have the offspring of the Union leader who has held his position for more than 20 years. Two of them have finished their university education, one graduating as a doctor of medicine, and the other as an engineer. Another is still at university. The only daughter is a student. Hence, none of them work at the mills. This indicates the importance of being able to use the assets that the Executive Committee of the Union controls.

The fourth generation of Doña Aurora's family (VI D) is composed of six families - five headed by textile mill workers and one by a bus driver. We have seen in Doña Aurora's case study that she had only three children and that, since she and her husband were breadwinners, they could afford to educate them. The eldest finished only second year of secondary school, but the two younger ones have semi-professional (computing) and university education. The four remaining families of mill workers have succeeded in giving some education to their children but, as we will see in the statistical tables, not to the same extent as the cement and paper workers. Women are relegated to semi-professional training. Five of them are housewives, four are working and seven are studying. Among the boys we have four in

university (three of them work at the same time (VI D 14, 25, 26)), two in pre-university (one of them works at the same time (VI D 39)), two in technical college, one in secondary school, seven in elementary school. Of those who are working, two are carpenters (with elementary schooling), five are mill workers (three with elementary, one with secondary and one with pre-university) and there is one working in an engine factory (with second year of secondary school). The children of the bus driver are four. The eldest completed secondary school and works as an employee; the second had training in book-keeping and is working in this field; the third is studying pre-university and works at the same time, and the youngest (seven years old) is starting elementary.

The fourth generation of Doña Dolores' family (VII D) is made up of six families. Five of these had one of the parents as a mill worker. The other family, a sister of Doña Dolores, married a milkman. This last family had only one daughter, who now lives in Guadalajara and is married to a lawyer. We have seen in Doña Dolores' case study that her children had little formal education: only one of them achieved secondary education. The rest completed their elementary schooling. The second family (VII D 1-6) had elementary education and all the children migrated to Mexico City or Tampico. In the third family (VII D 23, 24, 25) only the youngest child had higher education. He is presently doing his pre-university studies. His eldest brother finished elementary school, and is now married and living in León, Gto.

Then we have two more families of mill workers who have achieved better educations for their children. One of these families has had good relations with the Union leadership, and at present one of his children is the General Secretary of the Union (VII D 15). The family head of the second family (VII D 26-30) was a loom fixer. In the family of the Union leader we find eight children: six boys and two girls. The eldest is a teacher in Atemajac; the second, the actual General Secretary of the Union, a teacher and electrical engineer; the third, a girl, a nurse; the fourth a worker at the mill; the fifth, at the university reading agronomy; the sixth training for bookkeeping; the seventh, a secretary, and the eighth, studying for pre-university. In the family of the loom fixer, there are five children. The eldest, a woman, migrated with her husband to Mexico City where she is a housewife (we do not know her educational level); the second is a housewife with a nurse's training; the third, a girl, is studying at the university; the fourth is a housewife (her educational level is unknown), and the last one, the only boy, is doing pre-university. Thus we notice that in these last families the children have achieved better levels of education.

The fourth generation of Doña Adelaida's family (VII D) is made up of eight families. As we have seen in Doña Adelaida's case study and in the third generation, most members of her family stayed in the countryside, where they were engaged in agricultural occupations. Thus Doña Adelaida's family contrasts with the three families previously presented, where we saw that almost all the siblings of a same family were working in textiles. In Doña Adelaida's case, of the eight families seven were engaged in

agricultural work. If we look at these families we notice that, generally, the educational level is low. Only one individual is reported as having university studies (VII D 35), he being the youngest son of an ejidatario in Zapopan.

The children of peasants, cattle owners in the ex-hacienda and in the rancherías have in their majority migrated to Guadalajara, Morelia, Zapotlanejo, Tepic, Mexico City and to the USA and work in the informal sector (maquila, VIII D 2), in services, or as agricultural day labourers. The same happens to the children of the ejidatarios in Zapopan: they too work in the informal sector, in services, in petty trade, and, a lucky few, in industry (VII D 34). Only a few continue in agricultural work. But several of these have to combine different occupations in order to eke out a living (i.e. peasants and brickmakers in the dry season). There are three ejidatarios (VII D 23, 31, 32) and some day labourers working on their fathers' plots or in the comunidad ejidal where they live (VIII D 49, 51, 52). The women are mainly housewives or work in the maquila system or in the informal sector (VIII D 24).

We see, then, that this pattern of occupation and migration conforms to the pattern presented by the families of the paper and cement workers: high out-migration, occupation in services and informal sector, fewer and fewer people occupied in agriculture and low educational level.

Doña Adelaida's children (four women and one boy) are also involved in the informal sector of the economy. In the old days, Doña Adelaida's daughters would have been mill workers, but as

this possibility increasingly disappeared they have become seamstresses (VIII D 38, 39) and one has a stall in the local market (VIII D 40). The eldest, who had been married to a mill worker, is living from her widow's pension. And Doña Adelaida's son (VIII D 41) has an elementary education and works in a garage. Hence Doña Adelaida's fourth generation is different from the families presented earlier. She was the only one of her siblings to take up mill work, and because of this her relations in the factory-town are almost non-existent and that is why she has to rely for support on her daughter who migrated to Tijuana (VIII D 39). The latter is married to a worker in a furniture factory and herself works as a seamstress.

Industrial Workers' Children and Children of Non-Industrial Workers: a Comparison

In order to give a better idea of the differences in educational level and future opportunities that "enclave" workers' children have in comparison with the children of individuals not engaged in industrial work, I will now present several tables dealing with all the individuals that make up the fourth generation of the 60 families I interviewed (20 in each factory).

The first two tables (Table I and Table II) deal with the Atenquique case. Table I shows 121 individuals, children of Atenquique workers' brothers who do not have jobs in the "enclave" industries (either in Atenquique, Tolteca, Union Forestal etc.). We notice that in the age group corresponding to elementary

Table I Educational levels of the children of Atenquique workers' brothers who are not in industrial occupations

Age Group	Total	Are Studying	Men who are Studying	Women who are Studying	Total %
From 6 to 12 years	18	17	8	9	94.44
From 13 to 15 years	13	9	2	7	69.23
From 16 to 18 years	11	1	0	1	9.09
From 19 to 26 years	39	0	0	0	0.00
More than 27 years	40	1	1*	0	2.5
Total	121	28	11 out of 59	17 out of 62	23.14

* He is a Teacher. There are no university students

Table II Educational levels of Atenquique workers' children

Age Group	Total	Are Studying	Men who are Studying	Women who are Studying	Men's %	Women's %	Total %
From 16 to 12 years	25	25	11 out of 11	14 out of 14	100	100	100
From 13 to 15 years	15	15	6 out of 6	9 out of 9	100	100	100
From 16 to 18 years	25	16	6 out of 10	10 out of 15	60	66.66	64
From 19 to 26 years	61	21	8 out of 30	13 out of 31	26.66	41.93	34.42
More than 27 years	24	7	4 out of 14	3 out of 10	28.57	30	29.16
Total	150	84	35 out of 71	49 out of 79	49.29	62.02	56

education (6 to 12 years old) almost all the children are studying. The number decreases in the secondary and pre-university age groups (69% and 9%). We could find only one individual who had achieved teacher's training. There was nobody with a university degree. The table also shows that the number of men and women in the different educational levels is more or less equal.

Table II deals with 84 individuals, children of the 20 Atenquique workers I interviewed. The data show that all the children are undergoing elementary and secondary level education. The number of students decreases in the pre-university level and university levels. Nevertheless 35% of students attend technical and university courses. The percentage of women studying is higher than the percentage of men (67% against 60% in the 16 to 18 age group, and 42% against 27% in the 19 to 26 age group). But, the interviews stressed that the educational achievements of women are somehow lower: they finish up in semi-professional or technical fields rather than attain full professional status. Thus women tend to be channeled towards careers such as teaching, nursing, secretarial work, book-keeping etc. Few have university careers.

Tables III and IV give details on the children of the Tolteca workers and their brothers. Table III presents data concerning the children of the brothers of Tolteca workers, who are not themselves engaged in industrial work. Here we find that all children of the 5 to 12 age group attend elementary school (with the exception of one who is mentally retarded). In the second age group (secondary level) the number of female students drops. In

Table III Educational levels of the children of Tolteca workers' brothers who are not in industrial occupations

Age Group	Total	Are Studying	Men who are Studying	Women who are Studying	Men's %	Women's %	Total %
From 6 to 12 years	74	73	32 out of 33	41 out of 41	96.96	100	98.64
From 13 to 15 years	28	25	13 out of 13	12 out of 15	100	80	89.28
From 16 to 18 years	25	15	8 out of 11	7 out of 14	72.72	50	60.00
From 19 to 26 years	41	15	10 out of 26	5 out of 5	38.46	33.33	36.58
More than 26 years	20	1	1 out of 12	0 out of 8	8.33	0.00	5.00
Total	188	129	64 out of 95	65 out of 93	67.36	69.89	68.61

Table IV Educational levels of Tolteca workers' children

Age Group	Total	Are Studying	Men who are Studying	Women who are Studying	Men's %	Women's %	Total %
From 6 to 12 years	41	39	21 out of 22	18 out of 19	95.45	94.73	95.12
From 13 to 15 years	14	12	6 out of 6	6 out of 8	100	75	85.71
From 16 to 18 years	6	3	3 out of 4	0 out of 2	75	0	50
From 19 to 20 years*	3	1	1 out of 3	0 out of 0	33.33	0	33.33
Total	64	54	31 out of 35	27 out of 29	88.57	82.75	84.37

* As we have seen, Tolteca workers are young and their children are also young. But through the interviews we noticed that the aim of their parents is to give them technical training and university education if possible.

the next age group (16 to 18 years), pre-university level, the number of students also diminishes but it does so to a greater scale among the girls (50% are out of school). Among the 19 to 26 years age group, the percentage of students again decreases: 38% of men are studying or have studied (two of them are elementary school teachers); and among the women five out of 15 are studying or have studied (one of them has a nurse's training). Of those over 26 years we find only one individual with a teacher's training; and none of the women has had higher education.

The children of the Tolteca workers are younger than their cousins (Table IV). Thus we find more of them in pre-university or university levels. Among the group between 5 and 12 years old, almost all of them are in elementary education. In secondary education, the number of female students decreases, reflecting the conservative mentality that still prevails in the smaller communities (Santa Cruz, El Rincón, El Cortijo). They are waiting for the opening of a secondary school in El Rincón. The age group of the pre-university level also reveals this pattern. No women attend while 75% of the men are enrolled in pre-university studies. Although there is only one student old enough to attend university or technical college, parents made clear their desire to push them into professional careers. This was more strongly stated for sons than daughters.

We do not have in this sample, individuals older than 20 but, I think, there are grounds to think that the pattern will follow the same line as Atenquique and maybe, as educational facilities increase, the number of students will surpass the

Table V Educational and occupational levels of the children of textile mill workers and their brothers in industrial occupations

Educational levels	Number	%
Illiterate	1	0.38
Incomplete Elementary	73	28.18
Complete Elementary	69	26.64
Incomplete Secondary	14	5.40
Complete Secondary	4	1.54
Incomplete pre-university	9	3.47
Pre-university	1	0.38
Professional	19	7.33
Technical	28	10.81
Teaching	3	1.15
No data	38	14.67
Total	259	99.95

Occupations	Number	%
Textile workers	60	23.16
Workers	11	4.24
Craftsmen	10	3.86
Technicians	12	4.63
Teachers	2	0.77
Traders	4	1.54
Professionals	10	3.86
Employees	17	6.56
Students	36	13.89
Housewives	63	24.32
Migrants	22	8.49
Textile employees	2	0.77
Landless peasant	1	0.38
Footballers	2	0.77
Musicians	1	0.38
No data	6	2.31
Total	259	99.93

number of Atenquique workers' children who are studying and that also, the percentage of women students will rise.

The data provided by the fourth generation of the families of textile mill workers are better presented in another form. As the interviewees were older than those of Tolteca and Atenquique, their children also tend to be older. Thus there are fewer of them of school age. The tables therefore provide general data on occupation and educational levels without taking into account different age categories.

I have divided the sample (362 individuals) into two categories: 1) the children of our interviewees and the children of brothers who are in industry (a great majority of whom are, like their brothers, textile workers) and 2) the children of brothers who are not in industry.

In the table dealing with the children of industrial workers (Table V) we find that almost a quarter of the individuals are involved in textile work (23.16%). On the other hand, we find few students (only 13.89%), professionals are also few (only 3.68%) and the same with technicians (4.63%). These data are even more striking if we recall that some of the families of textile workers have been industrial workers for almost four generations. Thus over four generations they have not been able to achieve as high a level of education as the enclave workers have achieved in only one generation of industrial work.

Moreover, if we compare these patterns with the results for the children of the non-industrial brothers (Table VI), we find some big differences. In the first place, there is a contrast between the number of individuals engaged in textile work: in

Table VI Educational and occupational levels of the children of textile mill workers' brothers who are not in industrial occupations

Educational levels	Number	%
Illiterate	2	1.94
Incomplete Elementary	16	15.53
Complete Elementary	8	7.77
Incomplete Secondary	3	2.91
Complete Secondary	2	1.94
Incomplete pre-university	4	3.88
Complete pre-university	0	0.00
Professional	4	3.88
Technical	7	6.80
No data	57	55.34
Total	103	100

Occupations	Number	%
Textile workers	3	2.91
Workers	2	1.94
Craftsmen	6	5.83
Traders	7	6.80
Employees	5	4.86
Professionals	3	2.91
Students	9	8.74
Taxi driver	1	0.97
Technicians	2	1.94
Peasants	19	18.45
Housewives	26	25.24
Migrants	16	15.53
No data	4	3.88
Total	103	100

the case of non-industrial workers only 3% of their children are engaged in textile as against almost a quarter for the children of textile and industrial workers. In the second place, the number of children categorised as peasants for the non-industrial workers is much higher than for the other categories: 18% as against only 0.38%. Another difference is the number of children migrants. Here we find that the number is almost double that of the children of industrial workers: 15% as against 8%. Professionals, students and other occupations are represented by the same proportions for each category.

Conclusions

From this analysis of the main occupational and educational characteristics of the individuals who make up the families of our informants, we can draw some general conclusions regarding the development of the area, the patterns of employment, patterns of migration, social mobility, rural-urban relations, differences between sexes, and the differences between the three categories of workers.

Among the families of the paper and cement workers we noticed that, in the first generation, the main occupation was agriculture. Men were sharecroppers, peasants and small landowners, whilst the women were primarily housewives. The level of education was low as there were no schools in the area. The penetration of the State had not yet reached all parts of the country, and it was not yet consolidated. Liberals and conservatives were struggling for power. It was not until 1921 that Vasconcelos organised a national

educational system.

The second and third generations witnessed a marked increase in the penetration of the State in the region and the beginnings of regional economic disarticulation. The main characteristics of these generations is that employment in the agricultural sector decreases and there is an increase in employment in services and trading, and a high rate of out-migration. The individuals who remained in the area (when they were not the lucky few employed in the new "enclave" industries which appeared in the area in the 1940's) had to eke out a living as peasants, or work in informal small-scale workshops or enterprises, or become self employed petty traders or service workers. Their way of living was precarious and they were ready candidates for migration whenever the internal economic situation changed and threatened their risky businesses or unstable employment.

The educational level of individuals of the second and third generations increased a little to elementary school and illiteracy more or less disappeared. As we saw, the better-educated left for Guadalajara, Mexico City and, to a lesser extent, to other cities like Colima, San Luis Potosí and Tijuana. They also migrated to the USA. Migration to cities within Mexico was mostly permanent; whilst migration to the USA followed both a temporary and a permanent pattern. Some members of the second generation migrated to the USA on a seasonal basis and brought back savings with which to start small businesses: corner shops, butcheries, or the purchase of tractors. These families were the better-off ones and thus were able to provide better education for their children. In the third generation, migration for these families became less important

since the operation of small businesses, combined with farming, could provide sufficient work for their children. Nevertheless, some seasonal migration to the USA continued but, due to the rupture of the treaty with the USA, it was declared illegal and therefore more risky. Hence most migrants to the USA were permanent migrants and few in number. They were mostly day labourers with hardly any formal education, or tradesmen, such as cabinet-makers, lathe operators or upholsterers with only elementary education. The greatest number of migrants went to Guadalajara and Mexico City.

The genealogies, then, demonstrate that the South of Jalisco was a region that, during this period, expelled its inhabitants. Land was scarce and so were industrial jobs. Jobs in services and trades were in great demand and limited. Thus people were obliged to migrate in order to find some means of livelihood. In addition to cornering important natural resources and impeding the development of small enterprises that could retain a greater number of individuals, the enclave industries gave to a minority of families higher salaries and material means by which young workers' children could achieve a better education. However, this higher educational level has no demand in the area and so the youngsters are obliged to migrate to look elsewhere. Thus they acquire upward social mobility through education and migration. While in the first and second generations, land and migration were key factors in social mobility, in the third generation work in the enclave industries becomes crucial, and in the fourth, it is education that is central: university careers allow some individuals to find better jobs in Guadalajara, Mexico City or in other cities outside the South of Jalisco.

The genealogies (mainly through the cases of Don José and Don Camerino) also highlight the existence of important rural-urban links between migrants and the kin who remained in the South of Jalisco. Thus several members of the same family, thanks to previous migrant members of the same family, find jobs in the same factory or industrial plant or the same type of employment. These rural-urban links remain and are used by migrants to get a start in urban life.

Nevertheless among the younger workers I fould a different view of the family and of the social relations to be maintained or severed. The Atenquique and Tolteca workers of the "new generation" tend to sever their links with less fortunate members of their own families. Also their "needs" are becoming (under the influence of TV and public media) more "urban". They spend (to the great displeasure of their parents) most of their money on clothes, cars, motorcycles and entertainment (i.e. discos, night-clubs, cinemas). Thus they neglect their family links and "community" obligations. This is the new kind of worker that is emerging among the youngest members of the Tolteca and Atenquique workforce. Another important aspect to note is the role of women. In almost all the cases of paper and cement workers, we found that women were housewives. Few of them had an occupation outside their home. Only one of them was a factory worker. This woman migrated to Guadalajara and was working in a balloon factory.

The families of the textile mill workers present contrasting patterns of occupation and migration. Don Rosalío, Doña Aurora and Doña Dolores are typical mill workers in the sense that a great number of the members of their families were also mill workers.

Doña Adelaida is different in that she was the only member of her family involved in textile work. Her husband, as well, was rather isolated within the mill.

The first genealogical generation of the textile workers was made up of hacienda peasants from the locality where the mills were going to be built, or peasants living in towns near to Guadalajara, or mill workers who came to work specifically in the Guadalajara mills. These migrants were mainly women and children since, in the old days, textile work was mainly open to them. Educational levels were low, almost non-existent.

By the second generation, many relatives of our interviewees were already engaged in textile work (men and women). The third generation followed the same pattern. For instance, in Doña Aurora's and Doña Dolores' nuclear families five out of six siblings were working in the mill. Thus we find a great concentration of members of these families in the mills. Later, once they have achieved better education, some of them quit the mills in search of jobs in other industries. This started to happen in the third generation and increased in the fourth. This is a completely different feature from that which happens in the enclave industries. In the modern industries the workers try to keep their jobs at any cost. The high salaries they earn cannot be found elsewhere. But quiting the textile mills does not necessarily mean migrating out of the region. Several found jobs in the same city. Others did migrate outside the region but the rate of out-migration among textile workers and their families was much lower than for families of cement and paper workers. Doña Adelaida's case is different. Her family remained in the countryside and therefore out-migration

was higher.

In the fourth generation we found fewer members of single families engaged in textile work. In some families, where they were able to achieve a better education, none of the children were working in the mills. The possibility of a better education was limited to the children of workers in top jobs, or workers who had good relations with the Union leadership, or to those where both parents worked, or where they are few in number or were younger in age. Nevertheless, after almost four generations of industrial work, the textile workers had not been able to match the educational achievements of the children of the cement and paper workers, and this in spite of living in Guadalajara where the educational facilites are greater. Rank and file textile workers just cannot afford higher education for their children.

Another important characteristic of the fourth generation is that the "incapsulation" of complete families in textile work is disappearing. This is due, in part, to new management policies which exclude women from mill work and to the general decline of the mills. Following the strike I described earlier, and when the French management sold the mills to the Spaniards, several workers resigned their posts in the mills (mostly the highly skilled workers, i.e. loom fixers). Then, in the 1950's, the French management started to sell company houses to the workers and the factory-town disappeared as such, no longer being necessary. The National State was by then strong enough to control workers and to provide housing schemes etc.

Furthermore, women are now excluded from work in the mills. The better educated now work, for example, as secretaries, nurses and teachers. The less educated are shovelled into the informal sector, into the maquila system. This is a policy which provides capitalists with cheap labour, and is another way of ordering the population. Besides neutralizing the workers in the Unions, "incapsulating" them in new factory-town systems, dividing them by creating a "labour aristocracy" within each factory and within the working class as a whole, "atomising" the working class in small units (maquila) is yet another way of impeding their organisation.

CHAPTER VIII SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This thesis deals with the process of development of a region in Mexico. The area concerned evolved from a self-contained region to one closely integrated with the centre and ruled by outside economic and political forces. Its development has been studied through the history of two new industries that illustrate the increasing penetration of external capital and dependence on the centre, and one old-established, manufacturing industry dating back to the middle of the nineteenth century.

Throughout this development process, the State, interested in industrializing the country, has promoted several measures which aimed to provide capitalist enterprises with a docile work force and favourable conditions for production and distribution. Nevertheless, the strength and capacity of the State to achieve this has changed through time. Two important characteristics of the modern State are its increasing interventionism and its tendency towards greater centralization. These two tendencies are clearly illustrated through the history of the textile mills and are confirmed by the presence in the area of the new "enclave" industries.

Because of its assumption of responsibility for the long-term reproduction of the system (in this case the capitalist mode of production) the State has had to carry out two principal functions: to maintain order and social cohesion and to assist in capital accumulation. This is achieved through investment in three main areas, namely (following O'Connor quoted in Saunders, 1980: 143) social investment, social consumption and social expenses. The first two are considered as social capital and are necessary

if private accumulation is to continue and to remain profitable. Social investment takes the form of "constant capital", like private investment in machinery, and is necessary to improve labour productivity (roads, railways, industrial estates...). Social consumption constitutes "variable capital" and corresponds to the payment of wages, serving to reproduce labour-power on a daily or generational basis. Both are thus indirectly forms of productive investment which, if not undertaken by the State, would have to be undertaken by capital itself in order to increase rates of profit. On the other hand, social expenses are not productive but rather reflect the State's social control functions in that they contribute to the legitimation of the system. The State's role is to maintain social cohesion and control, and the legitimation function helps to mask its more traditional coercive character. In the case of the textile mills, which began in the difficult early days of the Mexican State, the emerging State had to delegate many of its functions to the mill owners. Thus the textile mill owners had to provide housing, education, health and social control through the establishment of a factory-town. The measures for social control ranged from the manipulation of religious institutions and values to the use of physical violence. The history of the Union movement in the textile mill "La Experiencia", for example, shows some of these methods: the use of a "Catholic" Union, and of violence and repression against the more combative workers. The factory-town operated as a means of control, as did the practice of employing whole families in the same industry. The fact that complete families depended on the same sources of income, housing and social services made them particularly vulnerable. They could not go on strike or risk being fired

since the whole family would suffer. The factory-towns (see Terradas, 1978: passim and Epstein, 1964: 88-89) were, and in some situations still are, an important means of controlling the working class: every one works for the same employer, wages and work are controlled by the same authority, and housing, health, and entertainment all depend on the factory. To lose one's job is to lose one's roof. The institutions described by Epstein in the company-towns of the Zambian copper mines were similar to those in the textile factory-towns, and are similar to those in the Atenquique paper mill.

This way of controlling the labour force was necessary, in the case of the textile mills, because of the weakness of the Central State. Hence the control of the workforce fell on the owners of the factories. The owners had also to cope with the creation of the necessary infrastructure. Thus the management of the textile mills built the railways and installed the telephones and telegraphs in Guadalajara. They were also the first to generate electric power and even sold it to the city of Guadalajara. Thus we see that in the beginning the State had to delegate its functions to the factory owners. But gradually the Central State gained power and was able to carry out its functions. The creation of a factory-town for the Atenquique paper mill responded to other policies. While its main function is to provide a docile and readily available workforce, its creation does not reflect the weakness of the State but rather the possibility of creating "enclave" industries in the modern period which can contribute to the industrial development of the country in turbulent areas. The paper mill is a sophisticated factory whose installations and machinery are very expensive and depend on key

workers for their maintenance and smooth running. These important workers are always housed in the factory-town. Since the nearest town was 7 km. from the paper mill, it was necessary to house key workers and management, who come from outside the region, in the area. Using essentially the same techniques, the mill now has a relatively passive and divided labour force at its disposal. The internal hierarchy imposed by the management within the mill and in the factory-town also creates a division amongst the workers themselves (those in top jobs and the rank and file) and between them and white-collar workers.

Another important means of control is the Union. In the case of the textile mills, when the Central Union entered the mills with the support of the State, the French management started to sell the company houses. This suggests that they no longer saw the factory-town as useful. Union leaders were coopted by the management and the former sought to defend their interests more than those of the workers they represented. The strength of this particular Union, the CTM, depends on its special links with the Central State through its party, the PRI. The appearance of this Union in 1939 marks the almost complete submission of the Mexican workforce to the policies of the State, and the Union became one of the most important means of controlling the labour force. In the history of the textile mills and of the cement and paper factories there are numerous examples of the Union acting to divide and control the workers. This is done, of course, with the help of the management. For instance, although owned by the same individuals, and although the workers were members of the same Central Union (CTM), the two mills had

a different section of the Union in each factory (sections 3 and 9). Hence unity was undermined by their having two different Executive Committees to negotiate with the management. Only during the big strike in 1976 did the leaders of each of the two sections succeed in uniting them against the management.

This same divisive strategy was also employed in the case of the cement works and paper mill. Each one of the cement plants that make up the Tolteca Group has its own particular section of the Union and they negotiate their contrato colectivo de trabajo on different dates. In the same way, the paper mill and its supplier of raw material, Unión Forestal, belong to the same big Union but to different sections. They also negotiate their contracts at different times: in fact Unión Forestal bargains with the management while the paper mill workers are on holiday. Thus if the negotiations run into difficulties and the workers decide to strike, any lack of raw material due to work stoppage in the Forestal will not affect the paper mill.

The emergence of the CTM in 1939 marks as it were the submission of the labour movement to the policies of the State. Before this, the workers were subjected to different, more paternalistic means of control. Then when the State became strong enough to incorporate the working class more fully through the formation of the CTM, new, more indirect, but equally effective structural devices were developed, although certain personal and paternalistic traits remain.

In addition to the Union, other means of ruling the working class have been utilised. The creation of a "labour aristocracy" within the area, that is the workers of the "enclave" industries,

and of a "labour aristoracy" within each factory (i.e. workers in top jobs and in the Union leadership) has tended to create major divisions within the workforce and to weaken its capacity to act in unity. The case studies and genealogies presented in the thesis demonstrate the various types of differentiation that exist among workers who have industrial jobs, as compared to those who do not, and between "enclave" and textile workers. Thus we see that the precise modes of organisation and the various strategies adopted by the State to achieve control and legitimacy change according to time and place. Furthermore different sectors of the capitalist production process get different treatment and so the State appears differently to different workers and in different economic sectors (and no doubt in different regional contexts too).

In the case studies I have tried to illustrate the different responses of the workers placed in different contexts, and responding to different kinds of treatment from the State. Disparities in response are due to their different modes of insertion into the productive process: on the one hand there are traditional industries producing for low-income sectors of the population and, on the other, there are "enclave" industries whose production is consumed by the State or by other industries. Differences also arise because of the different origins of the workers, and due to the milieux in which they live.

All these factors produce a socially heterogeneous workforce, with varied interests, ways of life, and attitudes. The life histories of the interviewees are a graphic illustration of this heterogeneity. The varied socio-cultural orientations of the

workers provides a starting point for understanding the economic rationality of family strategies and the differential use of social networks. While some try to expand their networks of inter-personal relations, others restrict them largely to the family, and others have tried to cut their links with their less fortunate kinsmen. All this is related to socio-cultural background and results to some extent from the strategies pursued by the State for controlling and dividing the workforce. Unionized "enclave" workers try to maintain their privileges and their jobs against the constant threat of the unemployed, which tends to make them concentrate on their more immediate interests. We also saw that socio-cultural patterns,which led to some kind of solidarity amongst relatives and members of a community in the past, were disappearing among the new generation of workers. Young workers tended to disregard family and community obligations, thus further separating workers and non-workers even within families. Furthermore, by monopolizing industrial jobs for their sons, the "enclave" workers create a privileged stratum which is closed to families other than those already working in the factories. This exacerbates and reinforces the processes of socio-economic differentiation in the region.

My analysis of the genealogies also provides a means of understanding the major economic disarticulation of the region during the period following the second world war, which has resulted in heavy out-migration, and has determined the careers of those individuals who have remained in the area. The occupational commitment for a majority of the inhabitants covers peasant agriculture, small-scale informal activities in workshops or enterprises, and self-employment in petty trade or the services. All

these occupations provide only a precarious living, and so the low standard of living resulting from these kinds of jobs is in sharp contrast to the economic affluence of the "enclave" workers. Moreover these latter contrast again with the relatively low economic status of the textile workers who have been involved in industrial work for four generations.

The process of centralization, from which the region's economic disarticulation has arisen, provoked the disappearance of the existing mechanisms of political control exercised by the local élite. Hence the local bourgeoisie is now weak and the working class fragmented. Furthermore, the new generation of workers presents characteristics other than those of their fathers. In particular they tend to sever their relations with poor relatives and espouse a more consumer ideology which restrains them from cooperating with the community. Their attitudes tend to mark them off from the rest of the region's population.

In the textile mills, the new policies of the management which prevent women finding work in the mills relegates them to the putting-out system. These small units of production are isolated and in constant competition with each other, and because of this contribute to the further atomization of the working-class, adding further obstacles in the way of any class-based organisation. The differentiation and heterogeneity of the workforce is, it seems, essential for the perpetuation of the capitalist system. Thus the State opposes a divided working class to a weak regional bourgeoisie. This mode of ordering the population keeps the system functioning through the extraction of both material and human resources from peripheral regions, thus reinforcing and

deepening the pattern of uneven development and making it more and more difficult for a genuinely regional-based dynamic to re-establish itself.

Peripheral states must obey rules imposed by world capitalism in the context of the international economy. In order to allow the perpetuation of the system through the extraction of human and material resources, the Central State in Jalisco has managed to weaken the local bourgeoisie and oppose it to a divided working class. Until now the local bourgeoisie has been incapable of regaining its bargaining power vis-à-vis of the Central State, and the working class has proved incapable of defending its common interest as a class against the capitalists. The State is nevertheless incapable of achieving complete control as internal contradictions arise. Heterogeneity arises particularly out of the internal processes of working class life history and strategies. This has led me to adopt an actor-oriented approach in this study in order to identify the resistance of different classes to increased State control. Saunders, quoting Gold says (Saunders, 1980: 187):

> Structuralist theories generally fail to 'explain the social mechanisms which actually generate a class policy that is compatible with the needs of the system'..., and this would seem to reflect the simultaneous theoretical rejection and pragmatic acceptance of individual action as one factor in their explanation.

Thus, I have tried to illustrate the enormous heterogeneity of the Jalisco working class with several different examples drawn from case studies and genealogies. This working class includes highly privileged workers, marginal self-employed and unemployed. The differences between these groups are real and were strongly

expressed and felt by the interviewees. However their responses were different. While Don José continues to help his family and his community, others work only for themselves and their immediate interests. This was clearly expressed in the negative response of the Union leader of Atenquique to the woodland owners when they sought the support of the paper mill workers. Others, like the textile mill workers, expect that their source of income will somehow survive the crisis and that they will be able to keep their jobs.

Through the case studies I have described the magnitude of the differences within the workforce in two different kinds of industry in the South of Jalisco and Guadalajara. Through the analysis of the genealogies I have explored inter-generational differences. But, after this attempt to understand the composition of the Jalisco working class, a lot of important questions still remain unanswered. Among the more important questions for further study we can list the following: How can links of solidarity be established between the different types of workers on a basis other than that focussing on the immediate conditions of work? How persistent are the opinions, attitudes and ideologies expressed beyond the moment when they are manifested? These questions have analytical and political importance. Their political importance refers to the possibility of a unified labour movement. To answer these questions it is necessary to look at the working class and at its constantly changing relationship to the State, which is the source of important mechanisms of control and the articulation of social classes.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX I THE PAPER MILL WORKERS

1. Don José F.: He was born in Venustiano Carranza, a small village in the South of Jalisco, in 1916. He studied as far as the fourth year of elementary school. When he was 16 years old he signed on as a sailor and he remained on a ship for 12 years as a stoker. In 1944 when he was 28 years old he went to Zapotiltic to visit his relatives and they told him about the new paper mill. He obtained the planta (status of permanent worker) in 1946 when he started as a stoking assistant, and in two weeks, due to his knowledge, he was promoted to the post of stoker. Don José's case shows us the importance of having previous experience which could be used in the industrial context. Without delay he was promoted to a top job within the factory. As we will see, this usually takes much longer and sometimes factors other than experience make promotion impossible.

2. Don Apolonio : He was born in Tuxpan in 1924 and he studied as far as the fourth year of elementary school. He entered the paper mill 30 years ago. Previously he was a peasant ("jalando yunta"). He started working in the construction of the factory where some of his friends were already working. As he knew how to read he "clutched" good jobs and he was also able to find a place for his brother. He started working in the boilers (calderas) and is now a stoking assistant. He cannot go further because he did not finish elementary schooling (by law he must have elementary schooling to be allowed to occupy the job of stoker). Don Apolonio's case proves to us the importance of previous experience relevant to the industrial market. Because Don Apolonio has not this previous experience he had to start from lower jobs and now promotion

for him is impossible. His life experience shows us the importance of literacy in achieving at least some improvements.

3. Don Ciro : He was also born in Tuxpan in 1924, he also has four years of elementary schooling and he started his working life as a mason's helper in Tuxpan. Then he started work on the construction of the mill. He stayed after the construction was finished and got a job looking after the tanks where the water is purified. Now he is an assistant chemist, but, in spite of the name, his job consists only of taking samples in the different phases of the production process and taking them to the laboratory. He still has one more job to go, chemist helpers' overseer.

4. Don Nestor : He was born in Tuxpan in 1928, he has five years of elementary school and he was a carpenter. He started working on the mill construction and then he got a job as a casual worker for two years in the paper mill and in 1952 he obtained the planta (regular worker). He is a weigher in the Department of Finishing and Shippings. He cannot be promoted.

5. Don José C. : He was born in Zapotiltic in 1927 and when he was a small child his parents moved to Tuxpan. He has done some years of elementary school. His father was a sharecropper and Don José used to help him. In 1945 he went to Manzanillo to work in the fruit-tree plantations because the work there was "lighter". He stayed there eight years and then came back to Tuxpan and started working as a casual worker in Atenquique (1954) and in 1958 he got the planta. He was an apprentice (peón) in the boiler recovery plant (caldera de recuperación). He cannot go any further because of his lack of education and he has problems of alcoholism.

6. Don Margarito : He was born in San Luis Potosi in 1917. His family was native to Aguas Calientes but his father was a qualified carpenter and migrated frequently. He was working with a building company from Mexico City and worked in Tampico, Mexico City, and came to Atenquique to work on the construction of the factory and the factory-town. Don Margarito followed his father in his migrations, he started working in Atenquique in 1946 and is working in the Department of Maintenance as Chief of Carpenters. His father has also been a worker of the factory. He has completed elementary schooling.

7. Don José M. : He was born in Tuxpan in 1922. He did only three years of elementary school and he became an apprentice carpenter in Tuxpan and in 1944 he began to work on the building of the factory. In 1947 he became a regular worker. He has always been a skilled carpenter and he only has one more job to go, Chief of Carpenters, but his promotion is unlikely due to his low educational level.

8. Don José Q. : He was born on a hacienda (La Higuera) located in the municipio of Tuxpan in 1914. His parents migrated to Tuxpan when he was five years old. He did only two years of elementary school and before starting his career as an Atenquique worker he was a muleteer trading between Cd. Guzmán and Pihuamo. He started working in the paper mill as a carpenter's helper in 1947, one of his friends told him there were vacancies. Unfortunately he had an accident and lost one arm and he is working in the Tools Warehouse. He cannot be promoted due to his handicap.

9. Don Jesus : He was born in 1922 on a hacienda (Techahue) near Union de Guadalupe. He is illiterate and was a peasant in Techahue. Then he went to Guadalajara and worked in a bakery before coming to Atenquique and working in the incipient Unión Forestal, and afterwards he worked on the building of the paper mill. He became a regular worker of the factory in 1947. One of his brothers-in-law who was working in a sawmill and went to work in Union Forestal gave him word of the vacancies. He started his career in the paper mill in the Department of Maintenance as a painter. Now he is an electrician, but he cannot be promoted because of his lack of education.

10. Don Maximiliano : He was born in Tuxpan in 1913. Until five years ago he was illiterate but he learnt to read and write at the request of the factory. Before starting his career in the paper mill he was a sharecropper and he was hired in Tonila and Quesería and around Tuxpan. In 1947 he started to work in the factory as a peón (unskilled worker) in the excavations to build the factory-town. Today he is a mechanic. He received lessons from a maestro mecánico in exchange for small payments. He cannot go any further in the promotional ladder as he will be retiring in two years.

11. Don Rodolfo : He was born in Tuxpan in 1927 and had four years of elementary school. He was an apprentice carpenter in Tuxpan. In 1946 he started working in the paper mill, hearing at the barber's shop that they were asking for people to work there. He started as a first carpenter and today he is working as tercer operador de máquina de papel (third operator of paper machine). He says that the promotions come through favouritism. He had a problem with the Union and has been demoted.

12. Don Matias : Native of Jiquilpan, Michoacan, born in 1923. He studied until the second year of elementary school. He arrived in Cd. Guzmán when he was eight or nine years old (1931). He used to work as a hired peasant in Cd. Guzmán and Tecalitlán. In 1945 he started working on the construction of the paper mill, as at that time there was a demand for labour. He began as an unskilled labourer (peón) and at present is a ayudante de operador de maquina de papel (assistant of paper machine operator). He still has three more posts to go but he lacks education and will be retired in a few years.

13. Don Encarnación : He was born in Cd. Guzmán in 1922 and has five years of elementary school. He migrated to Colima and Manzanillo and became a skilled mason. When he was 22 he went to Tuxpan and to work on Atenquique's construction. In 1948 he became a regular worker, and today he is chief of the masonry department.

14. Don Luis : He was born in Ameca Jalisco in 1917 and studied elementary school and some years of secondary school. His father was a trader. He arrived in Tuxpan when he was 13 years old (1930). Before starting work in the paper mill he was a peasant. In 1946 he started working on the building of the factory as an unskilled worker. He was one of the founders of the Union. Today he is a maestro herrero and he can be promoted to first mechanic. He has at present a portfolio in the Union (Secretario de Seguridad Social).

15. Don Trinidad : He was born in the Hacienda del Valle, municipio of Tamazula in 1914. He arrived in Tuxpan in 1940 and is illiterate. He was a peasant before starting his career in Atenquique. He started working in the laying of the foundations of the dam, and he also did breaches. That was in 1944 and he became a regular worker in 1946. At present he is relevo de primer ayudante de recuperactión y caustización. He cannot be promoted because he is illiterate.

16. Don Felix : He was born in Tuxpan in 1921 and studied just the first year of elementary school. He was a landless peasant and started working on the building of the factory in 1945 and he became a regular worker in 1947 when there was a great demand for labour. He entered as an unskilled worker and today he is primer ayudante de calderas de recuperación.

17. Don Gabriel : He was born in Tuxpan in 1929 and did two years of elementary school. He was a sharecropper and worked in the factory for different periods. In 1956 he was offered a regular worker's position as they needed workers. He started as an unskilled worker and at present he is a segundoayudante de cocinero. He has still two posts to go and he will be promoted very soon owing to six retirements in his particular department.

18. Don Pedro : He was born in Tuxpan in 1917. He did four years of elementary school and afterwards he did some evening school. He was a small landowner and to improve his life conditions he decided to start working in the paper mill. In 1947 he became a regular worker. He started as an unskilled worker in the warehouse, then he became a raw material checker, and then despatcher. He cannot be promoted because he is near retirement.

ATENQUIQUE

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 18 WORKERS INTERVIEWED

Place of Birth	
South of Jalisco (Tuxpan)	14 (78%)
Jalisco	2
San Luis Potosi	1
Michoacan	1

Age	
41-50	5
51-60	10 (56%)
+ 60	3

Previous Work	
Sailor	1
Landless peasant	7
Sharecropper	2
Peasant with land	1
Carpenter	4
Mason	2
Muleteer	1

Education	
Illiterate	3
1st to 3rd elementary	5
4th to 5th elementary	8
Complete elementary	1
1st year secondary	1

. Age of Recruitment (we will take into account the age at which the worker became a regular worker)	
15 - 20	1
21 - 25	6
26 - 30	7
31 - 35	4

Place of Residence	
Tuxpan	14
Atenquique	4

Seniority		
Years	No.	%
31	1	5.5
30	7	38.9
29	6	33.3
28	1	5.5
24	1	5.5
20	1	5.5
18	1	5.5
	18	99.7

Salaries	
140 - 200 pesos/day	40%
200 - 250 pesos/day	25%
250 - 300 pesos/day	25%
300 - 350 pesos/day	10%

APPENDIX II TOLTECA WORKERS

1. Don Manuel : He was born in El Rincón in 1934 and studied until the fifth year of elementary school. Since he was a child he has helped his father in the ejidal plot. Besides his work in the fields he migrated 13 times to the USA during the "dead period" (epoca muerta) in agricultural activities. In 1969 he started working in the cement factory as a regular worker. He got a job because a parcela ejidal belonging to one of his brothers-in-law was affected by the factory. This last job passed to Don Manuel. He started as an unskilled worker and he is now in charge of the clay grinding mill. He can be promoted to mechanic's helper.

2. Don Armando : He was born in Tamazula in 1946 and studied until the first year of secondary school. He started work as an apprentice in a garage in his home town. In 1969 he entered the cement factory as a mecánico de segunda (assistant mechanic) and is now a mecánico de primera (first mechanic). He cannot be promoted within the unionized jobs ladder but there are precedents that other workers have been promoted to mayordomos (foreman). He does not want to become a white-collar worker because he thinks that the "protection" of the Union is necessary. He has been the Union treasurer in two different periods.

3. Don Simón : He was born in Autlán in 1934 where he remained until his eighth birthday. He then lived two years in Guadalajara and finally moved to Tamazula where he is still living. He studied complete elementary school. He started playing football as a professional player in the second division. In 1953 he migrated to the USA also as a footballer. In 1961 he came back to Tamazula

and started work in the municipio (town hall), then he started work in the sugar mill. In 1967 he started work on the construction of the cement factory and in 1969 he became a regular worker as a mechanic and is now an operador de cargador frontal (frontal loader operator). In his department this is a top job, but the Union is trying to arrange that they can switch to the Mechanical Department where the salaries are higher.

4. Don José T. : He was born in Mexico City in 1938. He completed up to the first year of secondary school. He started work in a building company and had to travel a lot. He worked on the construction of Tolteca and in 1970 he got a regular job. He is in a top job in his department mecánico de primera (first mechanic) and he has received a special course in order to be able to train his fellow workers. He can be promoted to a white-collar job.

5. Don Salvador : He was born in Morelia, Michoacán in 1944 and he lived there until 1963. He studied and worked in different places. He worked as a stevedore in Mazatlán; in Oaxaca he worked in the Government Public Works Department (Secretaría de Obras Publicas); in Mexico City he worked in a paint factory and as an electrician in a department store. He came several times to Morelia and studied the first year of preparatoria and the first year in technical college. After working in Mexico City he came to Cd. Guzmán where he met former companions of the Morelia Technical College who were doing a visit to Atenquique and La Tolteca as part of their training programme. They had received application forms from the cement factory. One of Don Salvador's friends who was not interested in becoming a worker in the factory gave the application form to him. He is now an electricista de primera

(first electrician), a top job in his department. He is being trained to become an instrumentista or mayordomo (white-collar job).

6. Don Rafael O. : He was born in Cd. Guzmán in 1936. He studied until the second year of secondary school. He used to help his father on his private lands and with the cattle. Then he went to Guadalajara and worked as a driver for a big bread factory. Then he heard about the cement factory and started working there. He became a regular worker in 1969. He has always been in a top job (operador de camión pesado) (heavy lorry driver). He was one of the founders of the Union. He is tired of doing the same job and now the Union is trying to expand the possibilities of promotion.

7. Don Humberto : He was born in Tuxpan in 1948. He studied until the second year of secretarial training. During his life he has been a shoe-shine boy, a sandal maker (huarachero), a painter, a worker on sugar cane, a taxi driver. In 1966, until 1968, he migrated to Acapulco and worked in any thing and came back to Tuxpan and started working in the expanding works in Atenquique. There he learned how to solder, and this skill was useful in getting a job in Tolteca. He started working in Tolteca in 1968 as a welder's assistant, then he became soldador de segunda (second welder) and then de primera (first welder). Afterwards he became a specialist welder and now he is a mecánico de primera (first mechanic), which is a top job.

8. Don Juan : He was born in Tuxpan in 1947. He finished second year of secondary school. When he was 14 years old he went to Colima and started working as a tractor driver and he also followed a correspondence course to become a mechanic. He came back to Tuxpan when he was 19 years old and started working as an apprentice in a garage. After a short time he started working in the cement factory. He is a helper to the man in charge of the grinding mills.

9. Don Agustín : He was born in Tuxpan in 1934 and studied until the second year of secondary school. He has many relatives working in Atenquique. He himself worked as a casual worker for Atenquique for three years and four years as a regular worker. It was there that he learned the job of mechanic. Then he went for nine years to Oaxaca and worked there in a paper mill. He came back to Tuxpan and in 1969 he became a regular worker at the cement factory. He has always been in a top job (mecánico de primera). He can be promoted to a white-collar job (mayordomo) (foreman). He has, as well, a welding workshop in Tuxpan (taller de Soldadura).

10. Don Daniel : He was born in Zapotiltic in 1944, and is now studying secondary school in the evenings. He went to Guadalajara for six years, four of them working in an electrical workshop and the remaining two in the airport as a heavy machinery electrician, then he went for one year to work in the Monterrey airport. His mother called him back because she heard about Tolteca. He started as an electrician's assistant, then he became an electricista de primera (first electrician). Now he is training to become an instrumentista (electronic brain).

11. Don Jesus : He was born in Tecalitlán in 1944, and has completed elementary school. He was a mason in Tecalitlán. He went to Zapotiltic nine years ago and started working in Incalpa (a lime factory) and in 1970 he became a regular worker. He is a mason and substitutes for the man in charge of the kilns (furnaces). When he will be promoted this will be his new job.

12. Don Diego : He was born in Colima in 1947 and he studied until the first year of preparatoria (pre-university). He stayed in Colima until he was 22 years old, coming to Zapotiltic eight years ago. He was working with the construction firm in charge of the building of the colonia for the white-collar employees. He remained in the factory as an encargado de hornos (in charge of the kilns). This is a top job.

13. Don Rafael T. : He was born in Santa Cruz (Vista Hermosa) in 1938. He studied complete elementary school. He used to work in the sugar cane fields and in the machinery of the Tamazula sugar mill. His training with heavy machines in the sugar mill was useful in getting a job in the cement factory. He became a regular worker in 1970 as operador de maquinaria pesada (heavy machinery operator).

14. Don Rogelio : He was born in Zapotiltic in 1939. He has complete elementary education. He was a peasant in Zapotiltic and he entered the factory in 1968 as a casual worker and became a regular worker in 1970. He is an ayudante de perforadora primaria y poblador principal (assistant to the first driller and explosive manipulator).

15. Don Luis Manuel : He was born in Tamazula in 1935 and has complete elementary education. Until 1970 he was living in Tamazula and helping his father in his small property. He started working in Tolteca in 1969 as a regular worker. He is an operador de maquinaria pesada (heavy machine operator).

16. Don Porfirio : He was born in El Cortijo in 1950 and has completed elementary school. He moved to Santa Cruz when he was eight years old. He started his occupational career as a baker, then he became a driver and finally he started working in Tolteca. He was working on the construction during 1968-69 and in 1970 he became a regular worker. He started as an unskilled worker, and then he was promoted through the several steps of the packing department. Now he is an ayudante de molinos (grinder's assistant). He still has two jobs to go.

17. Don Octavio : He was born in Santa Cruz (Vista Hermosa) in 1940 and has fourth year of elementary school. Three times he migrated temporarily to the USA. He has worked as peasant, mason, driver, day labourer, mechanic, trader. Before starting his industrial career he was working as a peasant for more or less ten years. He started working on the construction in 1968 and in 1970 he became a regular worker of the factory. Presently he is a perforista de primera (first driller) and he substitutes for the operador de camión pesado (heavy lorry driver).

18. Don Gonzalo : He was born in Santa Cruz (Vista Hermosa) in 1947. He has fifth year of elementary education. He used to be a mason and a peasant in a parcela ejidal de temporal where he cultivated corn. He started work in the cement factory in 1969 as a regular worker. He started as an unskilled worker and went

through all the steps of the packing department and he is now envasador (packer) and substitutes for the ayudante de molinos (grinder's assistant). He still has his parcela ejidal and wants to invest in cattle and more land.

TOLTECA

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE 18 WORKERS INTERVIEWED

Place of Birth	
South of Jalisco	14
Jalisco	1
Michoacan	1
Colima	1
D.F.	1

Age	
27 - 30	5
31 - 35	4
36 - 40	4
41 - 45	5

Previous work	
Peasant	4
Mechanic	1
Employee & Worker	1
Skilled mason	2
Several trades	5
Industrial worker	1
Skilled electrician	1
Peasant & Driver	1
Mason & Industrial work	1
Peasant & tractor operator	1

Education	
Illiterate	0
1st-3rd year elementary	0
4th-5th year elementary	3
Complete elementary	6
1st-2nd year secondary	6
1st year pre-university	1
1st year technical school	1
2nd year secretarial training	1

Age of Recruitment	
20 - 25	6
26 - 30	4
31 - 35	8

Seniority	
7 years	10
8 years	8

Salaries	
150-200 pesos/day	3
201-250 pesos/day	3
251-300 pesos/day	5
- 300 pesos/day	7

Place of Residence	
El Rincón	1
Zapotiltic	6
Tamazula	2
Cd. Guzmán	3
Tuxpan	3
Vista Hermosa (Santa Cruz)	3

APPENDIX III THE TEXTILE MILL WORKERS

1. Don Jesus : He was born in Atemajac in 1900 and has always lived there. He did just the first year of elementary school. His grandparents and his father were textile workers. The grandparents worked in La Escoba and his father at first in La Escoba and later in Atemajac. Don Jesus started to work in the factory in 1918 and worked in the storehouse marking the cloth. He was a founder of the Union in 1929. He worked in the mill for 50 years (until 1968). He is single.

2. Doña Josefina : She was born in La Experiencia in 1930, and has been working in La Experiencia in the spinning department for 35 years. She married when she was 40, as she was taking care of her dead sister's children (7 children). She has some elementary education. Her paternal family have worked in the textile mills (grandfather and father) of La Escoba, Rio Blanco and La Experiencia.

3. Doña María Guadalupe : She was born in El Salto in 1912 and arrived at La Experiencia when she was five years old. She started working when she was 17. She worked eight years in the spinning department and 27 years in the weaving department. She stopped in 1955. She was working with two looms. She was fired when the modernization was due to start.

4. Doña María : She was born in Santa Lucía (a hacienda near Guadalajara) in 1893. When she was 11 she started working in the Atemajac mill where she stayed for two years. She then went to La Experiencia where she remained for 50 years, always in the spinning department. She retired when she was 62 or 63 years old (1956 when the modernization of the mills took place). She liked

to work there. She has a complete pension but she lives badly.

5. Don Benjamín : He was born in La Escoba in 1899 and arrived at La Experiencia when he was 11. He had completed up to the fourth year of elementary school. He started working in La Experiencia when he was 12 years old (1911). He was in the finishing department (measuring and weighing the cloth). He retired in 1965. He is single.

6. Doña Cristina : She was born in Tequila in 1905. She arrived at La Experiencia when she was 11 years old. She started working when she was 14 in the spinning department. She worked as a spinner for 51 years. She used to do the thinner thread and was 65 years old when she retired. She is single.

7. Doña María Guadalupe R. : She was born in Atemajac in 1904 and went to La Experiencia in 1909. She learnt how to read and write in the school at Atemajac. She started working when she was 11, cleaning the cotton. Then she went to the spinning department. She did not like that and she learnt how to weave. She worked for 44 years as a weaver. In 1956 she was fired because of the modernization. She is single. With the modernization in 1956 almost 150 women were fired. She lives on her pension in a house sold by the management of the mills in 1950.

8. Don Esteban : He was born in La Experiencia in 1911 and did up to the second year of elementary school. In 1927 he started work in the factory in the spinning department, then he went to the weaving department as acarreador de carretero, warper and weaver, then he became a cleaner and greaser. He worked until 1972. He was 61 years old. He is retired. He is single but has nine children.

9. Don José Guadalupe : Born in Rio Blanco in 1920, he arrived at Atemajac in 1926. He completed the fifth year of elementary education. He first worked in the finishing department, then as a weaver, then as a loom fixer (correitero) and finally as an official de coneras. He worked for 46 years in the factories. His aunts, who were working there, obtained the job for him.

10. Don José : He was born in Ixtlahuacán del Rio in 1909 and arrived at Atemajac when he was four (1913). He had elementary education and in the evening school he studied music and mandoline. He started working in the Atemajac mill when he was 13 (1922), in the finishing department (blanqueo), then went to the weaving department and afterwards to the weaving preparation department. He worked in the mill for 46 years. He retired in 1968. Now he works as a musician in a group, and lives on his pension.

11. Don Pablo : He was born in 1903 in Atemajac. He completed elementary school. He started working in Atemajac when he was 17 years old. He always worked in the finishing department. He retired when he was 65 (1968). He worked in the factories for a period of 48 years.

12. Doña María de Jesus : She was born in El Salto in 1921. Her family then went to Atemajac where she completed the fifth year of elementary school. She started working when she was 13 (1934) and worked in the mill for 45 years (1979). She started in the spinning department but she did not like it so she went to the weaving department. She worked with the modern looms but she did not like them.

13. Doña María M. : She was born in La Escoba in 1903. She was illiterate. In 1909 she arrived at Atemajac and when she was 12 she started working in the weaving department. She started with one loom, then two and she could run three. She had two uncles in the factory (they were maestros). She was fired when the modernization took place.

14. Doña Isaura : She was born in Atemajac in 1915. She was illiterate, but she taught herself how to read, but cannot write. She started work as a housemaid in Atemajac when she was 15 years old and she had this job for five years. In 1935, aged 20, she started work in the mill, always in the spinning department. She worked for 40 years in the factory and was 60 years old when she retired (1975). Her father had been working in the mill as an electrician, he died aged 30, electrocuted. Her mother was a spinner in the mill, and when she retired Doña Isaura took up her job. Doña Isaura's eldest brother is also a worker in the mill. Several members of his family are at present working in the mill. The Union leader asked Doña Isaura for a bribe in order to get her mother's job. She has never had a portfolio in the Union. She lives on her pension and supports a handicapped sister. She is single but has two sons, working in the mill, and a daughter married to a mill worker.

15. Don Brígido : He was born in El Salto in 1912 where his father and grandfather were workers at the mill. In 1917 they came to La Experiencia and in 1929, when he was 17 years old, he started working as a weaver (after three years of apprenticeship). He has always been a weaver. He learned very quickly to work with the modern looms. Before the modernization he ran two looms

and afterwards he was working with 20 of the new ones. He retired in 1972. He had a break in 1945-47 when he went to work as a policeman in Tijuana. His wife took up his work in the mill, it was very hard for her to learn how to weave. Don Brígido's wife has at least 20 relatives working in the mills. Don Brígido and his wife had 12 children, only one is at present working in the mill in a top job (loom fixer). The others worked in the mills for a while and then migrated, mostly to the USA. Don Brígido is now living on his pension but he went to the USA where his children are to work for six years. He came back in 1979. He is now living in the house he bought from the company in the 1950's.

16. Don Heliodoro : He was born in Atemajac in 1907. When he was 12 years old he came to La Experiencia and completed the third year of elementary school. He has also helped the masons and maintenance service since he was nine. When he was 13 he started to work in the mill as a peón (unskilled worker) of his uncle in the engomado department. He spent ten years as a peón and then became an oficial in charge of one of the machines. He retired in 1965 (after 45 years of work). Then he went back for a year and a half more and retired definitely in 1967. He is married. His wife used to work in the spinning department. She retired when they married. He has had several posts in the Union.

APPENDIX IV LIST OF DOCUMENTS FOUND IN THE AHJ, REFERRING TO THE PERIOD 1900-1910, DENOTING THE EXPANSION OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Colección de Leyes y Decretos, Tomo XIX (1899-1900).

May 7th 1900, Decree 826 exemption of taxes for 10 years on the capital that the Compañia Industrial de Guadalajara is going to use in establishing lighting and electrical power.

Colección de Leyes y Decretos, Tomo XII, 1899 p.517, Decree 371 reads that there is a total exemption of contributions for 20 years on the capital to be invested by Don Francisco Martínez Negrete in the establishment of a factory of linen yarns and weavings.

In the Ramo Fomento, paquete 1900, were found the following documents:

1902: Sr. Nicolás Macías asked for a tax exemption for the manufacture of woven bedspreads.

1902: Sr. Ladislao Chávez asked for a tax exemption for a factory of bedspreads and fine shawls in Ciudad Guzmán, Jalisco.

1905: Marcelino Alvarez y Cayetano requested exemption of taxes for a linen spinning factory in Arandas, Jalisco.

1906: Andrés Villalpando and partner requested a tax exemption for their factory of cotton weavings in San Diego de Alejandría, Jalisco.

1906: Miguel Gonzales Camargo applied for a tax exemption to produce fabrics in Guadalajara.

1909: Calderón and Araujo asked for a tax exemption for their factory of silk yarns and weavings in Guadalajara.

1909: Graciano Aguilar and brothers sought for a tax exemption for a wool mill in Guadalajara.

1910: Ramón Zavala and Co. requested exemption of taxes for a wool mill in Guadalajara called Eureka.

APPENDIX V UNION PORTFOLIOS OCCUPIED BY WORKERS OF LA EXPERIENCIA

De julio de 1931 a junio de 1932. Fungió como Srio. Gral. de la Federación Textil adherida a la Confederación Obrera de Jalisco, Manuel C. Mora.

De julio de 1932 a junio de 1933. Fungió como Srio. Gral. de la misma Federacion Textil, J. Félix Nuño Gutiérrez.

En el año de 1936 fué constituida la Federación de Trabajadores de Jalisco adherida a la C.T.M. en la que figuró con carácter de Comisión de Finanzas, Rodolfo Nuño Gutierrez.

De julio de 1936 a junio de 1937. Fungió como Srio. de Asuntos Técnicos e Industriales en la propia Federación, Rodolfo Nuño G.

De julio de 1937 a junio de 1938. Figuró como Srio. de Asuntos Técnicos e Industriales en la Federación J. Rosario Campos.

De julio de 1938 a junio de 1939. Fungió como Srio. de Asuntos Técnicos e Industriales en la Federación, Rafael Gómez.

De julio de 1944 a junio de 1945 mas unos meses del periodo anterior, figuró como Srio. de Asuntos Técnicos e Industriales dentro de la Federación, José Delgado.

De julio de 1947 a junio de 1948. Fungió como Srio. de Asuntos Técnicos e Industriales dentro de la Federación, J. Guadalupe Salcido.

Asi también en distintas épocas, fueron electos como Delegados al Consejo confederal entre otros, los obreros Dionisio Rios, J. Isabel Z. López y Rodolfo Nuño G.

De julio de 1943 a junio de 1944, figuró como Representante Obrero ante la Junta Federal de Conciliación No. 3 en la cuidad de Guadalajara, Rodolfo Nuño G.

'Popular' Elected Positions (i.e. in Municipality) occupied by workers of this mill.

En el año de 1935 y 1936. Porfirio Encarnación Jr. Pte. Mpal. de Zapopan.

En el año de 1943 y 1944. Rafael Gómez Garcia, Pte. Municipal de Zapopan.

En el año de 1943 y 1944. Rodolfo Nuño G. Srio. del H. Ayuntamiento.

En el año de 1945 y 1946. Rodolfo Nuño G. Pte. Municipal de Zapopan.

En el año de 1945 y 1946. J. Jesús Quirarte Sahagún Tesorero Mpal. de Zapopan.

En los años de 1945 a 1947. Rafael Gómez García Diputado Local.

En el año de 1926. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Clemente Sánchez.

En el año de 1934. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Rodolfo Nuño G.

En el año de 1935. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, J. Félix Nuño.

En el año de 1940. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, José Moreno.

En el año de 1943. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Epigmenio Vitela.

En el año de 1943. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Luis Jiménez.

En el año de 1945. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, J. Jesús Quirarte.

En el año de 1945. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, J. Jesús Carrero.

En el año de 1946. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Ramiro Nuño.

En el año de 1947. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Rafael Ríos.

En el año de 1947. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Francisco Jiménez.

En el año de 1947. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Francisco Pérez.

En el año de 1947. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Santiago Fernández.

En el año de 1949. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, Antonio Mora V.

En el año de 1949. Figuró como Regidor de Zapopan, J. Guadalupe Salcido.

En el año de 1928. Escribiente en el Registro Civil, J. Refugio González.

En el año de 1942. Escribiente en el Registro Civil, J. Estanislao Martínez.

En el año de 1928. Comandante de la Policía en Zapopan, J. Isabel Z. López.

En el año de 1935. Comandante de la Policía en Zapopan, J. Refugio R. Sánchez.

En el año de 1942. Comandante de la Policía en Zapopan, J. Refugio Sánchez G.

En el año de 1948. Comandante de la Policía en Zapopan, Gualberto Soto.

En el año de 1930. Comisario Municipal en el Pueblo de Atemajac, José Barajas M.

En el año de 1944. Delegado Municipal en el Pueblo de Atemajac, Epigmenio Vitela.

En el año de 1951. Delegado Municipal en el Pueblo de Atemajac, Antonio Mora V.

En el año de 1935. Escribiente de la Com. en el pueblo de Atemajac, Loreto Cisneros.

En el año de 1942. Escribiente en la Com. del Pueblo de Atemajac, Estanislao Martínez.

En el año de 1944. Escribiente en la Com. del Pueblo de Atemajac, Manuel Villaseñor.

En el año de 1947. - Escribiente de la Com. del Pueblo de Atemajac, J. Jesús Sánchez G.

En el año de 1949. Escribiente en la Delegación del Pueblo de Atemajac, Enrique Ruvalcaba.

En el año de 1951. Escribiente en la Delegación del Pueblo de Atemajac, José Ruvalcaba.

En el año de 1951. Escribiente en la Delegación del Pueblo de Atemajac, J. Jesús Ruvalcaba.

In 1979, the year in which I carried out my research, the General Secretary of the Union was Regidor de Zapopan.

Source: Cien años de actividad social en la fabrica La Experiencia.

La Experiencia, Jalisco, México, 1851-1951.

Sr. J. Jesus Martínez Vallejo

Sr. Enrique Fco. Camarena M.

Sr. Pbro. Donaciano M. Camacho.

APPENDIX VI GENEALOGICAL CHARTS AND LISTS OF CHARACTERISTICS OF THE INDIVIDUALS APPEARING IN THEM.

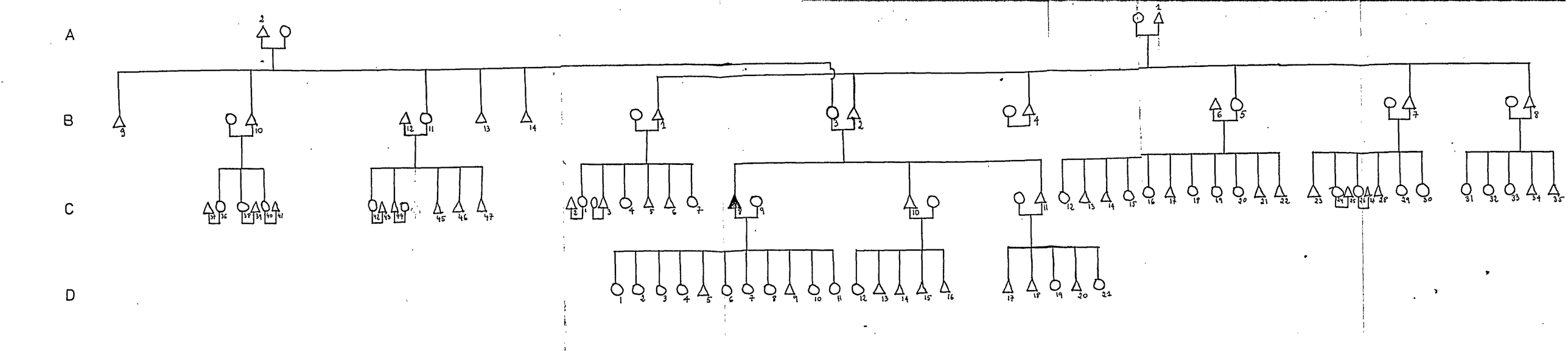
Don Andrés I
Don Marcos II
Don José III
Don Camerino IV
Don Rosalío V
Doña Aurora VI
Doña Dolores VII
Doña Adelaida VIII

KEY:

Male △
Female ○
Ego ▲ ●
Married └─┘
Siblings ┌─┐

Key to the list of Characteristics

Jal. : Jalisco
GDL. : Guadalajara
SLP. : San Luis Potosí
Cd. Guzmán : Ciudad Guzmán
D.F. : Mexico City (Distrito Federal)
Nay. : Nayarit
Gto. : Guanajuato
Zac. : Zacatecas
Qto. : Queretaro
Col. : Colima
Exp. Nva. : Experiencia Nueva (The new mill located near La Experiencia)
La Esc. : La Escoba
La Exp. : La Experiencia
Atem. : Atemajac

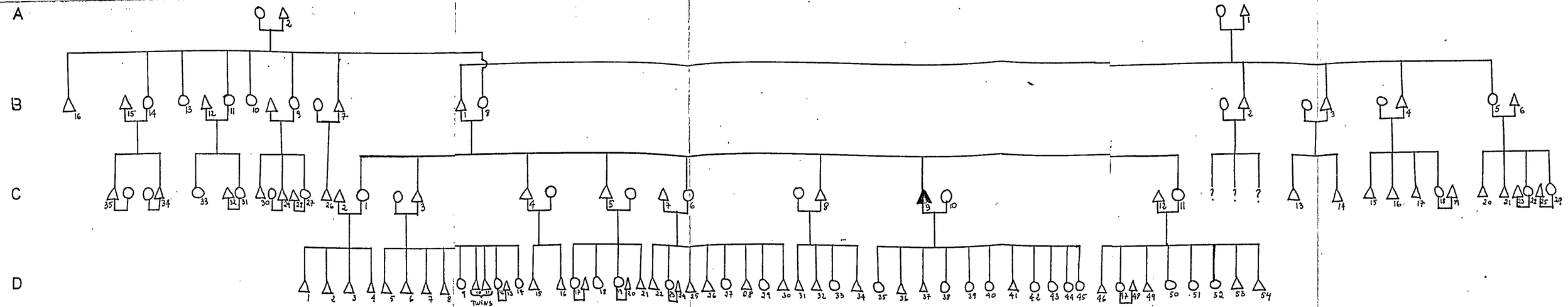

A
B
C
D

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				FIRST GENERATION (A)			
1	Tuxpan Municipio	1890?	M	Municipio Tuxpan	?	Peasant sharecropper	
2	Tuxpan Municipio	1840?	M	Municipio Tuxpan	?	Small landowner	
				SECOND GENERATION (B) PATERNAL SIDE			
1	Tuxpan Municipio	1908	M	Municipio Tuxpan	3rd year	Sharecropper	Dead
2	Tuxpan	1910-69	M	Municipio Tuxpan	3rd year	Sharecropper and small landowner	Dead
3	Tuxpan Municipio	1910-68	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Housewife	Ego's mother
4	Tuxpan Municipio	1913	M	Tuxpan	3rd year	Sharecropper	Dead
5	Tuxpan Municipio	1918	F	Tuxpan	?	Housewife	
6	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Ejidatario	
7	Tuxpan	1920	M	Tuxpan	?	Sharecropper	Widower
8	Tuxpan	1926	M	Tuxpan	?	Day labourer	
				SECOND GENERATION (B) MATERNAL SIDE			
9	Tuxpan	1866?	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Small landowner-sugar trader	Single-Dead
10	Tuxpan		M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Small landowner	Dead
11	Tuxpan	?	F	Tuxpan	3rd year	Housewife	
12	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Small landowner	
13	Tuxpan	?	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Worked with (IB9)	Single-Dead
14	Tuxpan		M	Tuxpan	3rd year	Alcoholic (helped by IB9 and B13)	Single-Dead

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				THIRD GENERATION (C)		PATERNAL SIDE	
1	Tuxpan	1933	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Housewife	
2	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Small landowner	
3	Tuxpan	1940	M	GDL	Secondary	Government employee	Maize Storehouses' Inspector
4	Tuxpan	1944	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Housewife	Single
5	Tuxpan	1946	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Sharecropper	Single
6	Tuxpan	1950	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Sharecropper	Single
7	Tuxpan	1956	F	CD GUZ	Nurse training	Nurse	Single
8	Tuxpan	1934	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Small landowner/worker atenquique	Ego
9	Tuxpan	1934	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Housewife	Ego's wife
10	Tuxpan	1937	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Day labourer	Alcoholic
11	Tuxpan	1941	M	GDL	University	Lawyer	
12	Tuxpan	1939	F	?	Teacher	Head Mistress	Single
13	Tuxpan	1940	M	Colima	Priest		
14	Tuxpan	1942	M	GDL	Seminarist		
15	Tuxpan	1950	F	Tamazula	Teacher	Teacher	Single
16	Tuxpan	1952	F	Tuxpan	Teacher	Teacher	Single
17	Tuxpan	1954	M	Tuxpan	Secondary	Works and Studies	
18	Tuxpan	1956	F	Tuxpan	Secondary	At home	Single
19	Tuxpan	1958	F	Tuxpan	Secondary	At home	
20	Tuxpan	1960	F	Tuxpan	Secondary	At home	
21	Tuxpan	1962	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Student	
22	Tuxpan	1964	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Student	
23	Tuxpan	1948	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Ejidatario	Married
24	Tuxpan	1950	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Housewife	
25	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Ejidatario	
26	Tuxpan	1952	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Housewife	
27	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Mason	
28	Tuxpan	1954	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Day labourer	Single
29	Tuxpan	1956	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	At home	Single
30	Tuxpan	1958	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	At home	Single

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C) PATERNAL SIDE			
31 Tuxpan	1953	F	CD. Guzman	Teacher	Teacher	Single
32 Tuxpan	1958	F	Tuxpan	Technical training	Student	
33 Tuxpan	1960	F	Tuxpan	Technical training	Student	
34 Tuxpan	1962	M	Tuxpan	Studies Secondary	Student	
35 Tuxpan	1964	M	Tuxpan	Studies Elementary	Student	
			THIRD GENERATION (C) MATERNAL SIDE			
36 Tuxpan	1926	F	Tuxpan		Housewife	Widow-small landowner
37 ?	?	M	Tuxpan		Teacher	Dead
38 Tuxpan		F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Housewife	
39 ?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Worker Atenquique	
40 Tuxpan	?	F	Tuxpan	?	Housewife	Small landowner
41 ?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Small landowner	
42 Tuxpan	1932	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Housewife	Small landowner
43 ?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Ejidatario	Has a tractor
44 Tuxpan	1936	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Grocer & land-owner	
45 Tuxpan	1938	M	SLP	?	Mechanic	Single
46 Tuxpan	1930	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Worker Atenquique	Portfolio in Union
47 Tuxpan	1928	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Worker Atenquique	Portfolio in Union

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (D)			
1 Tuxpan	1955	F	GDL	University	Student	
2 Tuxpan	1956	F	Tuxpan	Book Keeping	Student	
3 Tuxpan	1958	F	Tuxpan	Secretarial Training	Student	
4 Tuxpan	1959	F	Tuxpan	Secondary	Works in Tortillería	
5 Tuxpan	1961	M	Tuxpan	Secondary	Worker Atenquique	
6 Tuxpan	1962	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	Student	Ego's Children
7 Tuxpan	1964	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Student	
8 Tuxpan	1966	F	Tuxpan	3rd year	Student	
9 Tuxpan	1968	M	Tuxpan	3rd year	Student	
10 Tuxpan	1972	F	Tuxpan	Kindergarten	Student	
11 Tuxpan	1975	F	Tuxpan			
12 Tuxpan	1959	F	Tuxpan	Elementary	At home	Single
13 Tuxpan	1961	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Peasant with his father	Single
14 Tuxpan	1965	M	Tuxpan	5th Elementary	Students & helps in agriculture	Single
15 Tuxpan	1967	M	Tuxpan	2nd year	Student	Single
16 Tuxpan	1968	M	Tuxpan	1st year	Student	Single
17 Tuxpan	1961	M	GDL	3rd Secondary	Student	
18 GDL	1965	M	GDL	1st Secondary	Student	
19 GDL	1966	F	GDL	4th Elementary	Student	
20 GDL	1974	M	GDL			
21 GDL	1975	F	GDL			

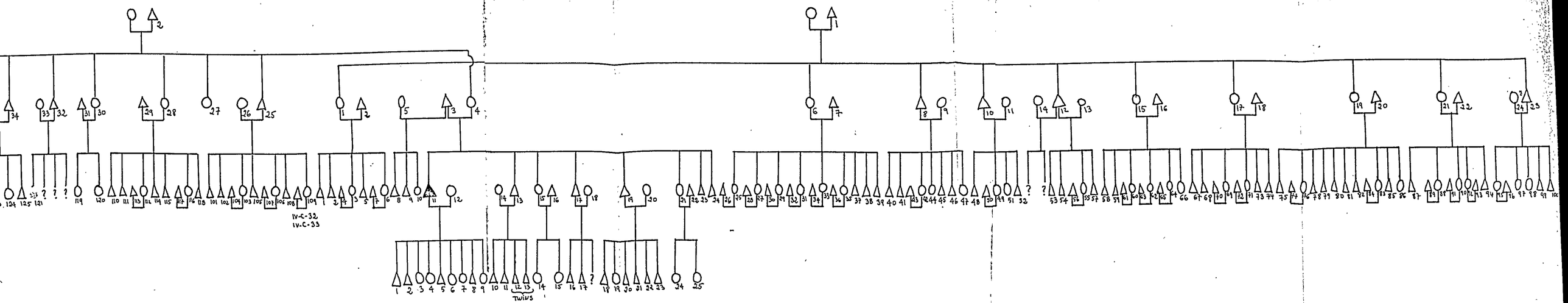

A
B
C
D
TWINS

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				FIRST GENERATION (A)			
1	Pihuamo	1850?	M	Tuxpan	?	Peasant-Mason	
2	Tuxpan Munic		M	Tuxpan	?	He was in charge of a ranch	Killed in 1910
				SECOND GENERATION (B) PATERNAL SIDE			
1	Pihuamo	1890-1942	M	Tuxpan	Literate	Peasant-Sharecropper	Ego's father
2	Pihuamo		M	Pihuamo	?	Water trader-Muleteer	Dead
3	Pihuamo		M	Pihuamo	?	?	
4	Pihuamo		M	Tuxpan	2nd Elementary	Musician	Dead
5	Pihuamo		F	Colima	?	?	Dead
6	?		M	Colima	?	?	Dead
				SECOND GENERATION (B) MATERNAL SIDE			
7	Tuxman Munic	1895	M	Tuxpan	Read & Write	Ranch Foreman	Dead
8	Tuxpan Munic	1897	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate	Housewife	Ego's mother (Dead) 1973
9	Tuxpan Munic	1899	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate	Housewife	
10	Tuxpan Munic	1900	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate	?	Single
11	Tuxpan Munic	1902	F	Cd.Guzman	Illiterate	Housewife	
12	?	?	M	Cd.Guzman	?	Small landowner	
13	Tuxpan Munic	1904	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate		She died young
14	Tuxpan Munic	1906	F	Manzanillo	?	Housewife	Widow-came back to Tuxpan
15	?	?	M	Manzanillo	?	Sailor	Dead
16	Tuxpan Munic	1908	M	Tuxpan Munic	?	Died in childhood during	the Revolution (1910)
				THIRD GENERATION (C) PATERNAL SIDE			
1	Pihuamo	1914	F	Tuxpan	2nd year	Housewife-Maid	Housemaid
2	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Peasant	Crippled
3	Pihuamo	1915	M	Tux/Colima	2nd year	Mason	Dead 1966
4	Pihuamo	1920	M	GDL	3rd year	Mason	
5	Pihuamo	1923	M	Tux/Colima	3rd year	Mason	Dead in Tuxpan

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				THIRD GENERATION (C) PATERNAL SIDE (contd.)			
6	Pihuamo	1925	F	Tux/GDL	4th year	Housewife	
7	?	?	M	Tux/GDL	?	Mason	
8	Tuxpan	1927	M	Colima	4th year	Mason	
9	Tuxpan	1931	M	Tuxpan	4th year	Worker Atenquique	Ego
10	Zapotiltic	1932	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate	Housewife	Orphan
11	Tuxpan	1934	F	Tuxpan	3rd year	Housewife	
12	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Carpenter in U.Forestal	
13	Pihuamo	1920	M	?	?	Soldier	
14	Pihuamo	1920	M	?	?	Soldier	Dead
15	Tuxpan	1941	M	D.F.	Elementary	Employee Binders shop	Migrant to D.F.
16	Tuxpan	1943	M	Tux/D.F.	4th year	Tux-Butcher's employee D.F.-Spareparts shop employee	Migrant to D.F.
17	Tuxpan	1946	M	Tux/D.F.	Elementary	Tux-Mechanic D.F.Lathe Operator	Migrant to D.F.
18	Tuxpan	1948	F	D.F.	4th year	Housewife	
19	?	?	M	D.F.	?	Worker Ruhm Factory D.F.	
20	Colima	1920	M	?	?	?	Dead
21	Colima	?	M	?	?	?	Dead
22	Colima	1926	F	Colima	?	Housewife	
23	Colima	?	M	Colima	?	Veg. Gardener	
24	Colima	1928	F	Colima	?	Housewife	
25	Colima	?	M	Colima	?	Mason	
				THIRD GENERATION (C) MATERNAL SIDE			
26	Tuxpan	1918		GDL	2nd year	Baker	Dead 1973
27	Tuxpan	1921	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate	Housewife	
28	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Day Labourer	
29	Tuxpan	1923	M	Tuxpan	5th year	Worker Atenquique	Sons work in Atenquique
30	Tuxpan	1931	M	Tuxpan	2nd year	Small landowner	

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				THIRD GENERATION (C) MATERNAL SIDE (contd.)			
31	Cd.Guzman	1916	F	Cd.Guzman	Elementary	Housewife	
32	?	?	M	Cd.Guzman	?	Trader in Cd.Guzman	
33	Cd.Guzman	1919	F	Cd.Guzman	Elementary	Runs small restaurant in Cd.Guz.	Single
34	Tuxpan	1921	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Driver Atenquique	Dead 1965
35	Manzanillo	1929	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Worker Atenquique	
				FOURTH GENERATION (D)			
1	Tuxpan	1939	M	Tuxpan/D.F.	3rd year	Tux-Day labourer D.F.-Mason	Married
2	Tuxpan	1941	M	Tuxpan	3rd year	Day labourer	Married
3	Tuxpan	1942	M	Tuxpan/D.F.	3rd year	Tux-Day labourer D.F. Mason	Married
4	Tuxpan	1944	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Employee Tuxpan cinema	Married
5	Colima	1946	M	Colima	Illiterate	Day labourer	Married
6	Colima	1948	M	Tuxpan	2nd year	Day labourer	Married
7	Colima	1950	M	Tuxpan	?	Mason	Married
8	Colima	1952	M	Colima	?	Butcher's employee	Single
9	Colima	1954	F	Colima	Illiterate	Maid	Single
10	Colima	1956	M	Tuxpan	?	Butcher in the market	Single) twins
11	Colima	1956	M	Tuxpan	?	Butcher in the market	Single)
12	Colima	1958	F	Tuxpan	2nd year	Housewife	
13	?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Casual employee in Atenquique	
14	Colima	1960	F	Colima	5th year	Maid	Orphan
15	Tuxpan	1940	M	Tuxpan	Elementary	Soldier and now gardener of the municipality	Single
16	Tuxpan	1943	M	Tuxpan	5th year	Peasant and now railways employee	Married
17	GDL	1951	F	GDL	Illiterate	Housewife	Husband's occupation unknown
18	GDL	1954	F	GDL	Elementary	Maid	Single
19	GDL	1956	F	Tuxpan	Secondary	Housewife	
20	Tuxpan	?	M	Tuxpan		Ejidatario	
21	GDL	1963	M	Atenquique	Secondary	Student	Fostered by employee U. Forestal

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (contd)			
22 GDL	1947	M	GDL	Secondary	Bus Driver	Married/Dead-accident
23 GDL	1948	F	GDL/USA	3rd year	Housewife	
24 ?	?	M	GDL/USA	?	Bus Driver in GDL - USA ?	
25 GDL	1949	M	GDL	Elementary	Mason	Married
26 GDL	1950	M	GDL	4th year	Driver	Married
27 GDL	1951	F	GDL	Illiterate	At home	Single
28 GDL	1952	M	GDL	Elementary	Works with his father	Single
29 GDL	1960	F	GDL	Illiterate	At home	Single
30 GDL	1965	M	GDL	5th year	Student	
31 Colima	1953	M	Colima	Secondary	Mason	Single
32 Colima	1960	M	Colima	Elementary	Works with father	Single
33 Colima	1963	F	Colima	3rd year Elementary	Student	
34 Colima	1965	M	Colima	3rd year	Student	
35 Tuxpan	1952	F	GDL	Elementary	Employee Garment Shop	Single
36 Atenquique	1955	M	Tuxpan?	Secondary	Worker Atenquique	Married
37 Atenquique	1958	M	GDL	University	1st year mechanical engineering	Single
38 Atenquique	1959	F	GDL	Pre-University	Studying in GDL	Single
39 Atenquique	1961	F	Tuxpan	Secretarial	Studying in Tuxpan	Single
40 Atenquique	1962	F	Tuxpan	2nd year Secondary	Studying in Tuxpan	Single
41 Atenquique	1965	M	Tuxpan	6th year	Studying in Tuxpan	Single
42 Atenquique	1966	F	Tuxpan	4th year	Studying in Tuxpan	Single
43 Atenquique	1969	F	Tuxpan	2nd year	Studying in Tuxpan	Single
44 Atenquique	1970	F	Tuxpan	1st year	Studying in Tuxpan	Single
45 GDL	1974	F	Tuxpan			
46 Tuxpan	1956	M	Tuxpan	Tech.College Cd.Guzman	Student	
47 Tuxpan	1958	F	Tuxpan	4th year	Housewife	
48 ?	?	M	Tuxpan	?	Driver	
49 Tuxpan	1960	M	Tuxpan	Secondary	Student	
50 Tuxpan	1962	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate	At home	
51 Tuxpan	1964	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate	At home	
52 Tuxpan	1966	F	Tuxpan	Illiterate	At home	
53 Tuxpan	1968	M	Tuxpan	1st year	Student	
54 Tuxpan	1974	M	Tuxpan			



III. DON JOSÉ

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FIRST GENERATION (A)			
1 Rincón	1880?	M	Rincón	Literate	Peasant	Peasant Hacienda
2 Rincón	1880?	M	Rincón	Literate	Peasant	Peasant Hacienda
			SECOND GENERATION (B) (PATERNAL SIDE)			
1 Rincón	1908	F	Rincón	2nd yr Elementary	Housewife	Widow
2 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Worker Sugar Mill	Received indemnity
3 Rincón	1910	M	Rincón	3rd year	Peasant/Ejidatario/ Butcher	Casual migrant USA
4 Rincón	1915	F	Rincón	3rd yr Elementary	Housewife	Dead
5 Don José's father's second wife (no information)						
6 Rincón	1918	F	Rincón/GDL	1st yr Elementary	Housewife	Ejidatario
7 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	Dead
8 Rincón	1920	M	Rincón	Illiterate	Ejidatario	Ejidatario leader/Dead
9 ?	?	F	?	?	Housewife	
10 Rincón	1922	M	Rincón	3rd year	Ejidatario/Butcher	
11 ?	?	F	?	?	Housewife	
12 Rincón	1923	M	Rincón	3rd year	Ejidatario	Ejidatario leader
13 ?	?	F	?	?	Housewife	Dead
14 Second wife						
15 Rincón	1924	F	Rincón	Illiterate	Housewife	
16 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
17 Rincón	1926	F	Rincón/Cd.Guzmán	2nd year	Housewife	
18 Rincón	?	M	Rincón/Cd.Guzman	?	Day labourer	Left El Rincón in 1956
19 Rincón	1928	F	Rincón	1st year	Housewife	
20 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
21 Rincón	1930	F	Rincón	1st year	Housewife	Dead 1958
22 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
23 Rincón	1931	M	USA	4th year	Worker tinned fruit co., California	
24 ?	?	F	USA	?	Housewife	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			SECOND GENERATION (B) (MATERNAL SIDE)			
25 Rincón	1906	M	Rincón	2nd year	Peasant/Ejidatario leader	Has a tractor
26 Rincón	?	F	Rincón	?	Housewife	
27 Rincón	1908	F	Talpa	?	No information	
28 Rincón	1910	F	GDL	3rd year		Migrated in 1955
29 Rincón	?	M	GDL	?	Worker Sugar Mill	Migrated in 1955
30 Rincón	1912	F	Zapotiltic	3rd year	Housewife	Widow
31 Zapotiltic	?	M	Zapotiltic	?	?	Dead
32 Zapotiltic	1914	M	D.F.	2nd year	?	
33 ?	?	F	D.F.	?	Housewife	
34 Zapotiltic	1918	M	Zapotiltic	4th year	Ejidatario	
35 ?	?	F	Zapotiltic	?	Housewife	
36 Zapotiltic	1919	M	Campeche	4th year	Worker Sugar Mill	Migrated in 1947
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (PATERNAL SIDE)			
1 Rincón	1929	M	Rincón	4th year	Ejidatario	
2 Rincón	1931	M	Rincón	4th year	Ejidatario	
3 Rincón	1933	F	Rincón	4th year	Housewife	
4 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Day labourer	
5 Rincón	1935	M	Rincón	4th year	Day labourer	
6 Rincón	1938	F	Rincón	2nd year	Housewife	
7 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Day labourer	
8 Rincón) Don José's half-brothers	1956	M	?	?	?	) Don José helps
9 Rincón)	1958	M	?	?	?	) them since his
10 Rincón)	1960	F	?	?	?	) father's death
11 Rincón	1931	M	Rincón	4th year	Worker Tolteca	Ego
12 Rincón	1936	F	Rincón	4th year	Housewife	Ego's wife
13 Rincon	1933	M	GDL	4th year	Cabinet Maker	
14 ?	?	F	GDL	?	Housewife	
15 Rincón	1935	F	GDL	4th year	Worker - Balloon factory	) They work in
16 Rincón	?	M	GDL	?	Worker - Balloon factory	) same factory
17 Rincón	1937	M	USA	4th year	Cabinet Maker	Migrated 1974
18 ?	?	F	USA	?	Housewife	

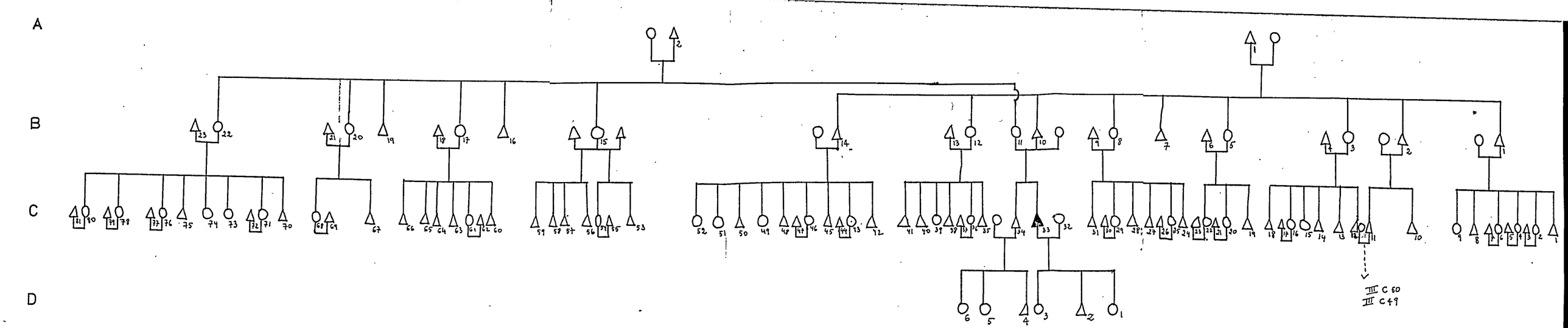
Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (contd.)			
19 Rincón	1939	M	GDL	Elementary	Driver - Soft drinks cia.	
20 ?	?	F	GDL	?	Housewife	
21 Rincón	1943	F	GDL	5th year	Housewife	
22 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Factory worker	
23 Rincón	1953	M	GDL	Secondary	Sales Agent Water Filter Factory	Dead 1975
24 Rincón	1954	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker Balloon factory	
25 Rincón	1929	F	Rincón	3rd year	Housewife	
26 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Bus Driver	
27 Rincón	1931	F	GDL	1st year	Housewife	
28 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Driver - Soft drinks cia.	
29 Rincón	1932	F	GDL	1st year	Housewife	
30 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Driver - Soft drinks cia.	
31 Rincón	1933	F	GDL	4th year	Housewife	
32 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Employee in GDL Airport	
33 Rincón	1934	F	GDL	2nd year	Housewife	
34 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Worker in GDL Slaughterhouse	
35 Rincón	1936	F	Rincón	1st year	Housewife	
36 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
37 Rincón	1938	M	GDL	1st year	Soft drinks cia. driver's helper	
38 Rincón	1948	M	GDL	4th year	Worker Water Filter Factory	
39 Rincón	1950	M	GDL	3rd year	?	
40 Rincón	1931	M	Rincón	Illiterate	Inherited his father s ejidal plot	
41 Rincón	1933	M	Rincón	4th year	Worker Tolteca	
42 Rincón	1935	F	Rincón	3rd year	Housewife	
43 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Corner shop in El Rincón	
44 Rincón	1938	F	Nayarit	Secondary	Nun	
45 Rincón	1940	M	Rincón	3rd year	Day labourer	Single
46 Rincón	1948	M	Rincón	3rd year	Day labourer	Single
47 Rincón	1956	F	Rincón	Elementary	At Home	Single

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (contd.)			
48 Rincón	1948	M	Rincón	Elementary	Helps father in Butchery	
49 Rincón	1950	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
50 Rincón	1943	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker Water Filter Factory	Owner's nephew.
51 Rincón	1952	F	Rincón	Elementary	At Home	Single
52 Rincón	1956	M	Rincón	Elementary	Helps father in plot & Butchery	Single
53 Rincón	1943	M	Rincón/EUA	4th year	Seasonal migrant Day labourer)	
54 Rincón	1946	M	GDL	4th year	Day labourer	
55 Rincón	1948	F	Rincón	4th year	Housewife	
56 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Mason	
57 Rincón	1952	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker Water Filter Factory	Married
(The ejidal plot was inherited by one of the sons of the second marriage)						
58 Rincón	1933	M	Rincón	3rd year	Ejidatario	
59 Rincón	1935	M	Rincón	4th year	Worker Tolteca	
60 Rincón	1938	F	GDL	2nd year	Housewife	
61 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Mason	
62 Rincón	1946	F	Cd.Guzmán	3rd year	Housewife	
63 ?	?	M	Cd.Guzmán	?	?	
64 Rincón	1950	F	Cd.Guzmán	4th year	Housewife	
65 ?	?	M	Cd.Guzmán	?	?	
66 Rincón	1952	F	Cd.Guzmán	Elementary	?	Single
67 Rincón	1930	M	GDL	2nd year	?	
68 Rincón	1931	M	GDL	2nd year	Soft Drinks Cia.Driver	
69 Rincón	1938	F	Cd.Guzmán	1st year	Housewife	
70 Rincón	?	M	Cd.Guzmán	?	?	
71 Rincón	1946	F	Cd.Guzmán	3rd year	Housewife	
72 ?	?	M	Cd.Guzmán	?	Fruit Trader	
73 Rincón	1950	M	Cd.Guzmán	3rd year	Fruit & Veg.Trader	
74 Rincón	1956	M	Cd.Guzmán	4th year	Fruit & Veg.Trader	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (contd.)			
75 Rincón	1936	M	Rincón	4th year	Ejidatario	
76 Rincón	1938	F	GDL	3rd year	Housewife	
77 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Mason	
78 Rincón	1940	M	Rincón	5th year	Worker Tolteca	
79 Rincón	1946	M	Rincón	2nd year	Day labourer	
80 Rincón	1948	M	Rincón	2nd year	Day labourer	
81 Rincón	1950	M	Rincón	5th year	Worker Tolteca	
82 Rincón	1953	M	Rincón	5th year	Casual worker Tolteca	
83 Rincón	1954	F	Rincón	4th year	Housewife	
84 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Day labourer	
85 Rincón	1958	M	USA	Elementary	Day labourer	
86 Rincón	1964	F	Rincón	6th year	Student	
87 Rincón	1952	M	Rincón/USA	3rd year	Seasonal migrant	
88 Rincón	1954	F	GDL	2nd year	Housewife	
89 ?	?	M	GDL	?	?	
90 Rincón	1955	F	Rincón	2nd year	Housewife	
91 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Casual worker Incalpa	
92 Rincón	1956	F	GDL	1st year	Housewife	
93 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Worker Water Filter Factory	
94 Rincón	1958	M	Rincón/USA	Elementary	Seasonol migrant	
(As the mother died 20 years ago the father still works the plot and he probably remarried?)						
95 USA	1958	F	?	?		)
96 ?	?	M	?	?	Student	)
97 USA	1960	F	?	?	Student	)
98 USA	1962	F	?	?	Student	) Don José does not
99 USA	1968	M	?	?	Student	) have enough information
100 USA	1970	M	?	?	Student	)

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (contd.)		(MATERNAL SIDE)	
101 Rincón	1926	M	Rincón	4th year	Ejidatario	Small landowner - tractor
102 Rincón	1929	M	Rincón	4th year	Ejidatario	
103 Rincón	1930	F	Rincón	4th year	Housewife	
104 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
105 Rincón	1931	M	Rincón	3rd year	Ejidatario	Dead 1953
106 Rincón	1943	F	Rincón	3rd year	Housewife	
107 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Worker Incalpa	
108 Rincón	1946	M	Rincón	3rd year	Ejidatario	
109 Rincón	1953	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	Married to IV C 32
110 Rincón	1930	M	GDL	4th year	Mason	
111 Rincón	1932	M	GDL	4th year	Mason	
112 Rincón	1943	F	GDL	4th year	Widow	
113 Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Worker Sugar Mill	Dead
114 Rincón	1946	M	GDL	Elementary	Mason	
115 Rincón	1948	M	GDL	Elementary	Mason	
116 Rincón	1950	F	GDL	4th year	Housewife	
117 ?	?	M	GDL	?	?	
118 Rincón	1956	M	GDL	Elementary?	?	
119 Zapotiltic	1938	F	Zapotiltic	Secretarial Training	Bank Employee	Single
120 Zapotiltic	1946	F	Zapotiltic	Nurse Training	Nurse I.M.S.S.	Single
121 We do not have any information on the family who migrated to Mexico City						
122 Zapotiltic	1948	M	Zapotiltic	Elementary	Worker Incalpa	
123 Zapotiltic	?	F	?	?	?	
124 Zapotiltic	?	F	?	?	?	
125 Zapotiltic	1959	M	Zapotiltic	Elementary	Employee Tolteca	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (D)			
1 Rincón	1958	M	GDL	1st yr University	Medicine	
2 Rincón	1959	M	Rincón	Elementary	Worker Tolteca	
3 Rincón	1962	F	Rincón	Elementary	At Home	
4 Rincón	1963	F	Rincón	Elementary	At Home	
5 Rincón	1965	M	Rincón	Secondary	Student Zapotiltic	
6 Rincón	1967	F	Rincón	Elementary	At Home	
7 Rincón	1969	F	-	-	-	Dead
8 Rincón	1970	M	Rincón	Elementary	Student	
9 Rincón	1974	M	-	-	-	
10 GDL	1965	M	GDL	Secondary	Student	
11 GDL	1967	M	-	-	-	Dead
12 GDL	1971	M	GDL	Elementary	Students	Twins
13						
14 GDL	1969	F	GDL	Elementary	Student	
15 GDL	1971	F	GDL	Elementary	Student	
16)						
17) Don José does not have any information						
?)						
18 GDL	1964	M	GDL	Secondary	Student	
19 GDL	1966	F	GDL	Elementary	At Home	
20 GDL	1970	M	GDL	Elementary	Student	
21 GDL	1971	M	GDL	Kindergarden	Student	
22 GDL	1972	M	GDL	Kindergarden	Student	
23 GDL	1974	M	GDL	-	-	
24 GDL	1970	F	GDL	Elementary	Student	
25 GDL	1973	F	GDL	Kindergarden	Student	



IV DON CAMERINO

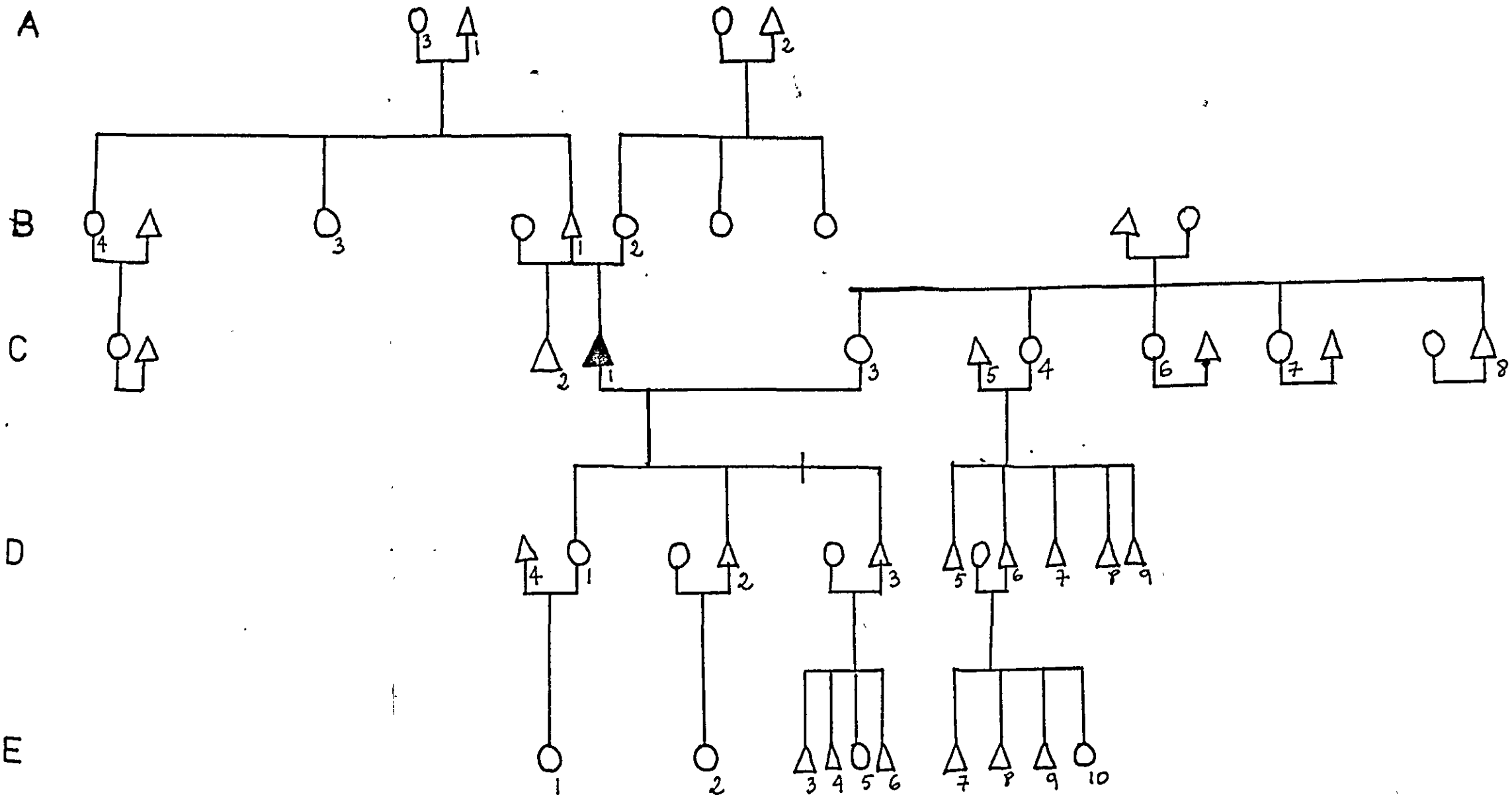
	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				FIRST GENERATION (A)			
1	San Marcos, Tonila	1886?	M	Rincón	Illiterate	Worker in sugar mill & Ejidatario	Dead
2	San Marcos, Tonila	1883?	M	Rincón	Illiterate	Worker in sugar mill & Ejidatario	Dead
				SECOND GENERATION (B)	(PATERNAL SIDE)		
1	Rincón	1906	M	Rincón	Illiterate	Ejidatario & worker Tamazula sugar mill	Retired
2	Rincón	1907	M	Rincón	Illiterate	Ejidatario	Dead
3	Rincón	1908	F	Rincón	Literate	Housewife	
4	?	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
5	Rincón (twins)	1909	F	Rincón	Illiterate	Housewife	Dead
6	? (twins)	?	M	Rincón	Illiterate	Day Labourer	
7	Rincón (twins)	1909	M	Rincón	Illiterate		Killed during Cristiada
8	Rincón	1911	F	Rincón/Apatzingan	?	Housewife	Migrant
9	Rincón	?	M	Rincón/Apatzingan	?	Watchman sugar mill	Migrant
10	Rincón	1913	M	Rincón	Illiterate	Ejidatario	Ego's father
11	Rincón	1909	F	Rincón	2nd year	Housewife	Ego's mother
12	Rincón	1918	F	Rincón	Literate	Housewife	Dead 1977
13	Rincón	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
14	Rincón	1920	M	Rincón	2nd year	Ejidatario - Butchery & corner shop owner	
				SECOND GENERATION (B)	(MATERNAL SIDE)		
15	Rincón	1903	F	Rincón/GDL	2nd year	Housewife	Widow
16	Rincón	1904	M	D.F.	Elementary	Driver	Dead
17	Rincón	1905	F	Rincón/GDL	2nd year	Housewife	Widow/GDL
18	?	?	M	Rincón	?	Mason at sugar mill	Dead
19	Rincón	1906	M	Rincón	2nd year	Ejidatario	Single
20	Rincón	1907	F	Rincón	2nd year	Housewife	Widow
21	?	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	Dead
22	Rincón	1913	F	Rincón/GDL	3rd year	Housewife	
23	?	?	M	Rincón/GDL	?	Worker sugar mill/GDL - Driver	

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				THIRD GENERATION (C) (PATERNAL SIDE)			
1	Rincón	1936	M	Rincón	Elementary	Works father's plot	
2	Rincón	1937	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	
3	?	?	M	?	Elementary	Bus Driver	
4	Rincón	1940	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	
5	?	?	M	Rincón	?	Worker Tolteca	
6	Rincón	1943	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	
7	?	?	M	Rincón	?	Worker Tolteca	
8	Rincón	1945	M	Rincón	Elementary	Day Labourer & works with his brother (IV C 1)	
9	Rincón	1948	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	Single
10	Rincón	1939	M	Sinaloa	Elementary	Works in cotton processing factory	
11	Rincón	1943	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker in water filter factory (III C 50)	Married with III C 49
12	Rincón	1936	M	Rincón	Elementary	Works father's ejidal plot	
13	Rincón	1938	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker water filter factory	
14	Rincón	1939	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker water filter factory	
15	Rincón	1940	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	Single
16	Rincón	1942	F	USA	Elementary	Housewife	Chicago/USA
17	?	?	M	USA	?	?	Chicago/USA
18	Rincón	1944	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker water filter factory	
19	Rincón	1936	M	GDL	Elementary	Mason	
20	Rincón	1943	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
21	?	?	M	GDL	?	?	
22	Rincón	1949	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
23	?	?	M	GDL	?	?	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (PATERNAL SIDE) (contd.)			
24 Rincón	1945	M	Sinaloa/ Apatzingan	Elementary	Works in an agricultural machinery workshop	
25 Rincón	1948	F	Queretaro	Elementary	Housewife	
26 ?	?	M	Queretaro	?	?	
27 Rincón	1950	M	USA	Elementary	?	
28 Rincón	1951	M	GDL	Elementary	Lathe Operator	
29 Rincón	1952	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
30 ?	?	M	GDL	?	?	
31 Rincón	1957	M	USA	Elementary	?	
32 Rincón	1953	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	III C 109
33 Rincón	1943	M	Rincón	Elementary	Worker Tolteca	III C 110
34 Rincón	1935	M	Rincón	Elementary	Casual worker Tolteca	
35 Rincón	1942	M	Rincón	Elementary	Day Labourer	
36 Rincón	1943	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	
37 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
38 Rincón	1944	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker at water filter factory	
39 Rincón	1945	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	Single
40 Rincón	1949	M	Rincón	Elementary	Day labourer on his father's plot	
41 Rincón	1953	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker at water filter factory	
42 Rincón	1953	M	Rincón	Elementary	Runs butchery	
43 Rincón	1954	F	Rincón	Elementary	Housewife	
44 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Worker Tolteca	
45 Rincón	1958	M	Rincón	Elementary	Runs butchery	
46 Rincón	1959	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
47 ?	?	M	GDL	?	?	
48 Rincón	1961	M	Rincón	Elementary	Works his father's ejidal plot	
49 Rincón	1963	F	Rincón	Elementary	At home	
50 Rincón	1964	M	Rincón	Elementary	Works his father's ejidal plot	
51 Rincón	1968	F	Rincón	Elementary	Student	
52 Rincón	1972	F	Rincón	Elementary	Student	

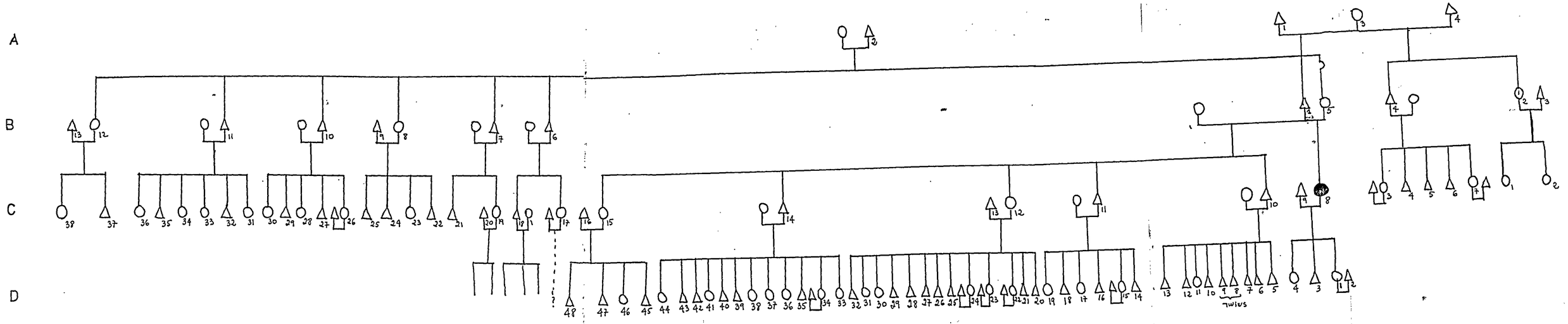
Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C)		(MATERNAL SIDE)	
53 Rincón	1913	M	Rincón	3rd year	Worker at sugar mill, now working uncle's plot (IV B 19)	
54 Rincón	1920-1963	F	Rincón	3rd year	Housewife	Dead 1963
55 ?	?	M	Rincón	?	Ejidatario	
56 GDL	1929	M	USA Los Angeles	Secondary	?	
57 GDL	1936	M	GDL	University	Lawyer	Dead 1971
58 GDL	1938	M	GDL	University	Lawyer	
59 GDL	1943	M	GDL	Secondary	Upholsterer	
60 Rincón	1936	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker socks factory	
61 Rincón	1938	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
62 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Worker socks factory	
63 Rincón	1943	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker socks factory	
64 Rincón	1946	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker socks factory	
65 Rincón	1948	M	GDL	Elementary	Worker socks factory	
66 Rincón	1951	M	GDL	Elementary	?	
67 Rincón	1941	M	GDL	Elementary	?	
68 Rincón	1943	F	GDL/USA	Elementary	Housewife	
69 ?	?	M	USA	?	?	
70 Rincón	1941	M	GDL/when 22	Elementary	Bus Driver	
71 Rincón	1943	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
72 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Fruit Trader	
73 Rincón	1945	F	Colima	Secondary?	Nun	
74 Rincón	1948	F	GDL	Elementary	Shop employee	
75 Rincón	1950	M	GDL	Elementary	Civil Servant	
76 GDL	1952	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
77 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Employee furniture store	
78 GDL	1954	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
79 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Employee cement store	
80 GDL	1958	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife	
81 ?	?	M	GDL	?	?	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (D)			
1 Rincón	1973	F	Rincón	Kindergarden		
2 Rincón	1974	M	Rincón	-		
3 Rincón	1976	F	Rincón	-		
4 Rincón	1961	M	Rincón	pre-University	Student in Cd. Guzmán	
5 Rincón	1962	F	Rincón	Elementary	Seamstress	
6 Rincón	1970	F	Rincón	Elementary	Student	


A
B
C
D
E

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FIRST GENERATION (A)			
1 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	1857?	M		Illiterate	Peasant	
2 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	?	M		?	?	
3 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	?	F	GDL	?	Grandmother	
			SECOND GENERATION (B)			
1 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	1877	M	S.I., Nay/ Atemajac	Illiterate	Water trader/ Millworker	Dead
2 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	?	F		Illiterate	Housewife	Dead
3 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	?	F	Atemajac	Illiterate	Millworker	Retired
4 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	?	F	Atemajac	Illiterate	Millworker & Housewife	Husband - Barber
			THIRD GENERATION (C)			
1 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	1905	M	GDL	1st year	Millworker	Retired
2 Santiago Ixcuintla, Nay.	1908	M	S.I., Nay.	Illiterate	Peasant	(Ego's half brother)
3 GDL	1903	F	Atemajac	1st year	Millworker	Retired
4 Atemajac	1896	F	Atemajac	1st year	Millworker & Housewife	Dead
5 ?	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	
6 Atemajac	1898	F	Atemajac	?	Millworker	
7 Atemajac	1900	F	Atemajac	?	Millworker	
8 Atemajac	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (D)			
1 Atemajac	1936	F	Atemajac/USA	4th year	Millworker	Married & migrated USA
2 Atemajac	1939	M	Atemajac/USA	4th year	Millworker	Migrated USA/Car mechanic
3 Nay.	1944	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Millworker	
4 ?	?	M	? / USA	?	Lathe Operator	Blind - pension/USA
5 Atemajac	?	M	GDL	?	Shop employee	
6 Atemajac	1917-1976	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Millworker	Cornered Union leadership
7 Atemajac	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	Retired
8 Atemajac	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker & Civil Servant	
9 Atemajac	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	
			FIFTH GENERATION (E)			
1 Chicago, USA	1966	F	Chicago, USA		Student	
2 Atemajac	1964	F	Chicago, USA		Student	
3 Atemajac	1967	M	Atemajac	1st year Secondary	Student	
4 Atemajac	?	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	
5 Atemajac	?	F	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	
6 Atemajac	?	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	
7 Atemajac		M	GDL	University	Medicine	
8 Atemajac		M	GDL	University	Engineering	
9 Atemajac		M	GDL	University		
10 Atemajac		F	GDL		Student	



VI DOÑA AURORA

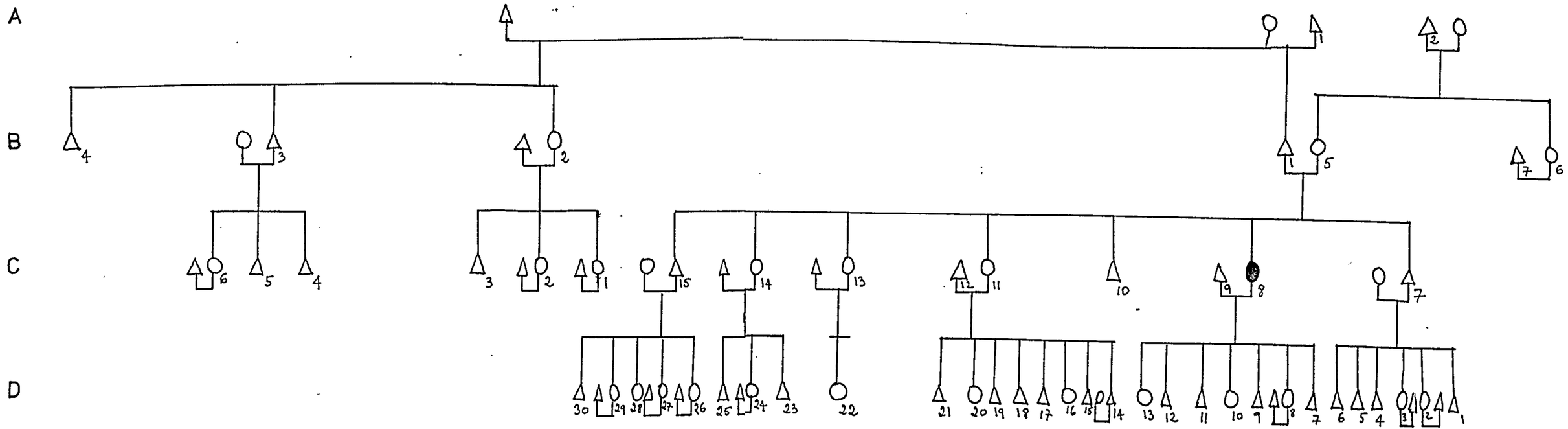
	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				FIRST GENERATION (A)			
1	Moyagua, Zac.	?	M	Moyagua, Zac.	Literate	Peasant	Dead
2	Escoba, Jalisco	1868	M	Escoba/Rio Bo/Atem.	Literate	Millworker	Dead
3	Moyagua, Zac.	?	F	Moyagua/Escoba/Rio Bco.	?	Millworker	Dead
4	La Escoba	?	M	La Escoba/Rio Bco.	?	Millworker	Dead
				SECOND GENERATION (B) (PATERNAL SIDE)			
1	Moyagua, Zac.	1888	M	Escoba/Rio Bco/Atem.	Literate	Postman & Millworker	Dead 1951
2	Rio Blanco	1902	F	Rio Blanco	Literate	Millworker	Retired when married
3	?	?	M	?	?	Trader	
4	Rio Blanco	1906	M	Rio Blanco/Atemajac	Literate	Millworker	now trader GDL
				SECOND GENERATION (B) (MATERNAL SIDE)			
5	La Escoba	1892	F	Rio Blanco	Literate	Housewife	Dead 1917
6	La Escoba	1888	M	Rio Blanco/Atemajac	Literate	Millworker	Dead
7	La Escoba	1890	M	Sta.Cruz de las Flores	Literate	Carpenter	Dead
8	Rio Blanco	1895	F	Rio Blanco/Atemajac	Literate	Millworker	Dead
9	?	?	M	Rio Blanco/Atemajac	Literate	Millworker	Dead
10	Rio Blanco	1896	M	Experiencia	Literate	Millworker weaver	Dead
11	Rio Blanco	1897	M	Rio Blanco/Atemajac	Literate	Millworker loom fixer	Retired
12	Rio Blanco	1899	F	Rio Blanco/Atemajac	Literate	Millworker warper	Dead
13	?	?	M	Rio Blanco/Atemajac	?	Millworker	
				THIRD GENERATION (C) (PATERNAL SIDE)			
1	GDL	1942	F	GDL	Teacher's Training	Teacher	Single
2	GDL	1944	F	GDL	Teacher's Training	Teacher	Single

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				THIRD GENERATION (C) (PATERNAL SIDE) (contd.)			
3	GDL	1934	F	GDL	Pre-University	Housewife	Married employee beer factory
4	GDL	1935	M	GDL	University	Industrial Chemist	Married
5	GDL	1937	M	GDL	Pre-University	Trade	Married
6	GDL	1941	M	GDL	University	Industrial Chemist	Married
7	GDL	1942	F	GDL	Pre-University	Housewife	Married
8	Zapopan	1916	F	Atemajac	4th year	Millworker	Married/Ego
9	Ixtlahuacan	1916	M	Atemajac	4th year	Trader - Dry-cleaning	employee
10	Atemajac	1921	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Millworker	Married
11	Atemajac	1927	M	Atemajac/Exp. Nva.	Elementary	Millworker	Married
12	Atemajac	1930	F	Atemajac	Elementary	Housewife	
13	?	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	Retired/Admin. Union Casino
14	Atemajac	1931	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	
15	Atemajac	1936	F	Mezquitan	?	Housewife	
16	?	?	M	Mezquitan	?	Bus Driver	
				THIRD GENERATION (C) (MATERNAL SIDE)			
17	La Escoba	1913	F	USA	3rd year	Housewife	Married & Migrated USA
18	Rio Blanco	1915	M	Atemajac	Literate	Millworker	
19	Rio Blanco	1913	F	Atemajac	Literate	Millworker	
20	?	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	Retired
21	Sta.Cruz de las Flores	1924	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Millworker	
22	Atemajac	1909	M	Sta.Cruz de las Flores	?	Carpenter	
23	Atemajac	1915	F	GDL	?	Employee Chinese Restaurant	Widow
24	Atemajac	1929	M	GDL	?	Carpenter - Taxi Driver	
25	Atemajac	1931	M	GDL	?	Textile worker/Davalos Mill	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (MATERNAL SIDE) (contd.)			
26 Atemajac	1909	F	Atemajac/Sonora	?	Millworker - Married	& Migrated to Sonora
27 Atemajac	1911	M	Atemajac	5th year	Millworker	
28 Atemajac	1917	F	Atemajac/Tijuana	?	Millworker - Married	& Migrated to Tijuana
29 Atemajac	1921	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	Pensioned illness
30 Atemajac	1923	F	GDL	?	Housewife	Married to Trader
31 Atemajac	1929	F	GDL	University	Bio-Chemist	Single
32 Atemajac	1930	M	GDL	University	Medicine	Married
33 Atemajac	1932	F	GDL	Secretarial Training	Secretary	Single
34 Atemajac	1941	F	Leon	Secretarial Training	Housewife	
35 Atemajac	1945	M	Leon	?	Printer's Shop Employee	Single
36 Atemajac	1949	F	Leon	University/Law	Housewife	Married/Did not Graduate
37 Atemajac	1941	M	GDL	University	Lawyer	Married
38 Atemajac	1944	F	GDL	Secretarial Training	Housewife	Married
			FOURTH GENERATION (D)			
1 GDL	1943	F	GDL	2nd yr Secondary	Housewife	
2 ?	?	M	GDL	?	Loom fixer Atemejac for 20 years	Now Driver
3 GDL	1957	M	Atemajac	Computing	IBM Programmer	Single
4 GDL	1961	F	Atemajac	University	Business Administration	Single
5 GDL	1957	M	GDL	2nd yr Secondary	Engine factory employee	Married
6 GDL	1959	M	GDL	Elementary	Millworker	Single
7 GDL	1962	M	GDL	Elementary	Carpenter	Single
8 GDL	1964	M	GDL	Elementary	Carpenter	Single

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (D) (contd.)			
9 GDL	1964	M	GDL	Elementary	Mill Apprentice	Single
10 GDL	1966	M	GDL	Elementary	?	
11 GDL	1971	F	GDL	Student		
12 GDL	1973	M	GDL			
13 GDL	1977	M	GDL			
14 GDL	1956	M	GDL	University	Studies Engineering/Works	Single
15 GDL	1957	F	GDL	Secretarial Training	Housewife	Married
16 GDL	1958	M	GDL	Elementary	Millworker	
17 GDL	1963	F	GDL	Teacher's Training	Student	
18 GDL	1968	M	GDL	Elementary	Student	
19 GDL	1973	F	GDL	Elementary	Student	
20 Atemajac	1950	M	Atemajac	University	Business Administration	Single
21 Atemajac	1952	M	Atemajac	Secondary	Millworker	Married
22 Atemajac	1953	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Housewife - married to mechanic	
23 Atemajac	1954	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Housewife	USA
24 Atemajac	1955	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Housewife	USA
25 Atemajac	1956	M	Atemajac	University	Student & Locksmith	Single
26 Atemajac	1957	M	Atemajac	University	Student & Millworker	
27 Atemajac	1962	M	Atemajac	Tech. College	Student	
28 Atemajac	1964	M	Atemajac	Tech. College	Student	
29 Atemajac	1966	M	Atemajac	Secondary	Student	
30 Atemajac	1967	F	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	
31 Atemajac	1969	F	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	
32 Atemajac	1971	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (D) (contd.)			
33 Atemajac	1951	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Secretary	Single
34 Atemajac	1953	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Housewife	married to carpenter
35 Atemajac	1955	M	Atemajac	Pre-University	Millworker	
36 Atemajac	1957	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Secretary	Single
37 Atemajac	1958	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Secretary & Housewife	married to millworker
38 Atemajac	1959	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Secretary	Single
39 Atemajac	1961	M	Atemajac	Pre-University	Millworker & Student	Single
40 Atemajac	1963	M	Atemajac	Pre-University	Student	
41 Atemajac	1965	F	Atemajac	Tech. College	Student	
42 Atemajac	1967	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	
43 Atemajac	1968	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	
44 Atemajac	1969	F	Atemajac	Elementary	Student	
45 Mezquitan	1959	M	Mezquitan	Secondary	Red Cross Employee	Single
46 Mezquitan	1960	F	Mezquitan	Book-keeping and Secretarial Training	Secretary/Accountant	Single
47 Mezquitan	1962	M	Mezquitan	Pre-University	Studies & Works	Single
48 Mezquitan	1973	M	Mezquitan	Elementary	Student	Single

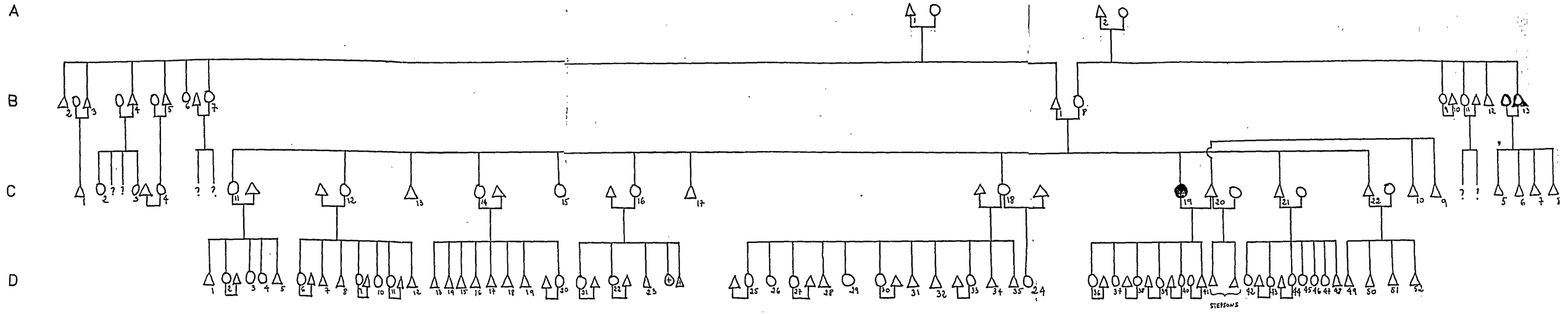


VII DOÑA DOLORES

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FIRST GENERATION (A)			
1 Cuquio, Jal.	?	M	?	?	?	Dead
2 La Experiencia	?	M	La Experiencia	Literate	Fruit-trader	Dead
			SECOND GENERATION (B) (PATERNAL SIDE)			
1 La Escoba	1890	M	La Esc./La Exp./Atem.	Literate	Weaver & loom fixer	Dead 1950
2 La Experiencia	1893	F	GDL	?	Housewife	Widow - Husband was a baker
3 La Experiencia	1893	M	La Experiencia	?	Loom fixer	Retired - now lives GDL
4 La Experiencia	1897	M	Veracruz	?	Millworker	Single
			SECOND GENERATION (B) (MATERNAL SIDE)			
5 La Experiencia	1888	F	Atemajac	Literate	Housewife	Dead 1951
6 La Experiencia	1891	F	Atemajac	Literate	Millworker	Married (Dead)
7 ?	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	Dead
			THIRD GENERATION (C)			
1 GDL	1919	F	D.F.	Literate	Housewife	Married and Migrated to D.F.
2 GDL	1921	F	?	Literate	Housewife	Dead
3 GDL	1922	M	GDL	Literate	Carpenter	Dead
4 La Experiencia	1913	M	GDL	Literate	Works on Railways	
5 La Experiencia	1915	M	GDL	Literate	Musician	Dead
6 La Experiencia	1917	F	GDL	Literate	Housewife	Married to railways employee
7 La Experiencia	1909	M	La Exp./Atemajac	4th year	Worker Atemajac	Dead
8 La Experiencia	1911	F	Atemajac	5th year	Worker Atemajac (30 years)	
9 Ixtlahuacan	1909	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Worker Atemajac	Dead

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (contd.)			
10 Atemajac	1913	M	Atemajac	4th year	Worker Atemajac	Dead
11 Atemajac	1915	F	Atemajac	4th year	Millworker until she married	
12 ?	?	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	Retired (Moran)
13 Atemajac	1917	F	Atemajac	Elementary	Housewife - married to a dairyman	
14 Atemajac	1919	F	Atemajac	3rd year	Millworker	Married
15 Atemajac	1921	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Millworker	Dead - loom fixer
			FOURTH GENERATION (D)			
1 Atemajac	1944	M	D.F.	Elementary	Stationery shop	Single
2 Atemajac	1946	F	D.F.	Elementary	Housewife - husband employee Pemex	
3 Atemajac	1948	F	Tampico	Elementary	Housewife - "	" "
4 Atemajac	1951	M	D.F.	Elementary	Employee Pemex	
5 Atemajac	1952	M	D.F.	Elementary	Stationery shop	
6 Atemajac	1954	M	D.F.	Elementary	? He was a sales agent of Atemajac	
7 Atemajac	1930	M	Zapopan	Elementary	Millworker	Married
8 Atemajac	1937	F	GDL	Elementary	Housewife - husband industrial mechanic	
9 Atemajac	1940	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Lorry Driver	Single
10 Atemajac	1942	F	USA	Elementary	Housewife	USA
11 Atemajac	1949	M	Atemajac	Secondary	Millworker	Single
12 Atemajac	1951	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Driver	Single
13 Atemajac	1953	F	Died when she was one year old			
14 Atemajac	1941	M	Atemajac	Teacher's Training	Teacher in Atemajac	Married
15 Atemajac	1943	M	Atemajac	Teacher - Electrical Engineer	Actual General Secretary of the Union	Single
16 Atemajac	1945	F	Atemajac	Nurse	I.M.S.S.	Single
17 Atemajac	1947	M	Atemajac	?	Millworker	Single
18 Atemajac	1948	M	?	University	Agronomy	Single
19 Atemajac	1949	M	Atemajac	Book-keeping	Student	Single
20 Atemajac	1951	F	Atemajac	Secretarial Training	Secretary	Single
21 Atemajac	1961	M	Atemajac	Pre-University	Student	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (D) (contd.)			
22 Atemajac	1939	F	Atemajac	?	Housewife - married	to a lawyer
23 Atemajac	1954	M	Atemajac	Elementary	Millworker	Single
24 Atemajac	1956	F	Leon	4th year	Housewife	
25 Atemajac	1961	M	Atemajac	Preparatoria	Student	
26 Atemajac	1955	F	D.F.	?	Housewife	
27 Atemajac	1957	F	Atemajac	Nurse Training	Housewife	
28 Atemajac	1959	F	Atemajac	University	Student	
29 Atemajac	1961	F	Atemajac	?	Housewife	
30 Atemajac	1962	M	Atemajac	Pre-University	Student	



VIII DOÑA ADELAIDA

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FIRST GENERATION (A)			
1 La Escoba	1845?	-	-	-	-	Dead
2 Zapotlanejo	-	-	-	-	-	Dead
			SECOND GENERATION (B) (PATERNAL SIDE)			
1 La Escoba/ Zapotlanejo	1864-1936	M	Zapotlanejo/ Zapopan	Literate	Sharecropper/Porter/ Employee in a shop	
2 ?	?	M	?	?	Dead when Ego was born	
3 Escoba		M	Zapotlanejo	Literate	Small landowner (La Cocinillia)	
4 Escoba	?	M	Escoba	Literate	Former millworker/Shop owner	
5 Escoba	?	M	Escoba	?	Millworker	
6 Escoba	?	F	Escoba	?	Mentally retarded	
7 ?	?	F	Zapotlanejo	?	?	
			SECOND GENERATION (B) (MATERNAL SIDE)			
8 Zapotlanejo	1886-1962	F	Zapotlanejo/GDL	Illiterate	Sharecropper/Day labourer	
9 Zapotlanejo	?	F	Zapotlanejo	?	Orchards	
10 Zapotlanejo	?	M	Zapotlanejo	?	Orchards	
11 Zapotlanejo	?	F	Zapotlanejo	?	?	
12 Zapotlanejo	?	M	Zapotlanejo	?	Dead in Childhood	
13 Zapotlanejo	?	M	Zapotlanejo/GDL	?	Baker	
			THIRD GENERATION (C) (PATERNAL SIDE)			
1 ?	?	M	La Exp/Queretaro/ El Salto	?	Textile worker since 1932	Retired
2 Zapopan	1886	F	Zapopan	?	Shop owner	
3 Zapopan	1905	F	Zapopan	?	Shop owner	
4 Rio Blanco	?	F	Rio Blanco	?	Millworker until she married	

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				THIRD GENERATION (C) (MATERNAL SIDE)			
5	GDL	?	M	GDL	4th year	Baker	
6	GDL	?	M	GDL	3rd year	Baker	
7	GDL	?	M	GDL	Elementary	Baker	
8	GDL	?	M	GDL	Elementary	Traffic Warden	
9	Escoba	1902	M	La Experiencia	?	Millworker	) Ego's husband's
10	Escoba	1904	M	Ixtlahuacan	?	?	) brothers
11	Ha.Las Fuentes	1896-1942	F	Ha.Las Fuentes	Literate	Housewife-maid	Married to a peasant
12	Ha.Las Fuentes	1898	F	Zapopan	Illiterate	Housewife	Married to cattleowner
13	Dead in Childhood						
14	Ha.Las Fuentes	1902	F	Ha.Las Fuentes	?	Housewife	Married to a day labourer
15	Dead in Childhood						
16	Ha.Las Fuentes	1906	F	Las Fuentes/Rio Bco	?	Housewife	Married to a day labourer
17	Ha.Las Fuentes	1909	M	GDL 1927	Illiterate		Dead at 18 years of age
18	Ha.Las Fuentes	1912	F	Zapopan	Literate	Housewife - married twice	a) Peasant b) Ejidatario
19	Ha.Las Fuentes	1914	F	Zapopan	Illiterate	Ego	
20	Ixtlahuacan D/Rio	1900/43	M	Zapopan	Literate	Millworker	
21	Ha.Las Fuentes	1916	M	Rio Blanco	?	Ejidatario	Married
22	Ha.Las Fuentes	1920	M	Rio Blanco	?	Ejidatario	
				FOURTH GENERATION (D)			
1	Ha.Las Fuentes	?	M	Tepic, Nay.	?	Peasant	
2	Ha.Las Fuentes	?	F	Zapotlanejo	?	Married - she makes bedspreads	
3	Ha.Las Fuentes	?	F	?	?	Dead when she was 20 years old	
4	Dead in Childhood						
5	Ha.Las Fuentes	?	M	Zapopan	?	Owns cattle/sells milk/day labourer (ladrillo etc.)	

	Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
				FOURTH GENERATION (D)		(contd.)	
6	Las Fuentes	?	F	?	?	Sells cooked food/Married - Husband sells poultry in market	
7	Las Fuentes	?	M	Las Fuentes	?	Ranch Worker	Dead 1976
8	Las Fuentes	?	M	Coyotes	?	Peasant	
9	Las Fuentes	?	F	GDL	?	Married - sells poultry in Avan	
10	Las Fuentes	?	F	Tlaquepaque	?	Sells cooked food	
11	Las Fuentes	?	F	Chapala	?	Married - peasant and cattle owner	
12	Las Fuentes	?	M	Morelia, Mich.	?	Shop owner	
13	Cocinilla Ranch	?	M	GDL	?	Owns a corner shop	
14	Cocinilla Ranch	?	M	Juanacatlan	?	Peasant and Brick Maker	
15	Dead in Childhood						
16	Cocinilla Ranch	?	M	USA	?	?	
17	Cocinilla Ranch	?	M	GDL	?	He sells used paper and cardboard	
18	S.Jose de las Flores	?	M	Juanacatlan	?	Peasant and Brick Maker	
19	S.Jose de las Flores	?	M	GDL	?	Sells cooked food	
20	S.Jose de las Flores	?	F	S.Jose de las Flores	?	Housewife - widow	Husband was a peasant
21	Zapotillo Ranch	1926	F	Zapotlanejo	?	Housewife	Husband a peasant
22	Zapotillo Ranch	1928	F	S.Jose/USA	?	Housewife - married & migrated to USA	
23	Rio Blanco	1930	M	Comunidad Rio Bco	?	Ejidatario - Tractor Driver	
24	Las Fuentes	1926	F	Zapopan	?	Works in informal sweet factory	Single
25	Zapopan	1936	F	Zapopan	Elementary	Office employee/Housewife	Husband - cobbler
26	Zapopan	1935	F	Baja California	?	Widow - sells second hand garments	
27	Zapopan	1937	F	Zapopan	Elementary	Widow - owns a tortilleria	
28	Zapopan	1938	M	Zapopan	?	Porter at La Experiencia & Sharecropper	
29	Zapopan	1940	F	GDL	?	Housewife - husband a mason	
30	Zapopan	1942	F	Zapopan	?	Housewife - married ?	
31	Zapopan	1944	M	Zapopan	?	Ejidatario at Los Belenes (ejido)	
32	Zapopan	1946	M	Zapopan	Illiterate	Ejidatario at Los Belenes (ejido)	
33	Zapopan	1947	F	Zapopan	?	Housewife - husband a blacksmith	

Place of Birth	Date of Birth	Sex	Place of Residence	Level of Education	Occupation	Comments
			FOURTH GENERATION (D) (contd.)			
34 Zapopan	1950	M	Zapopan	?	Worker in a glove factory	
35 Zapopan	1953	M	Zapopan	University	Lawyer	Single
36 La Experiencia	1933	F	La Exp.	3rd year	Widow	Husband was a millworker
37 La Experiencia	1936	F	Died in Childhood			
38 La Experiencia	1937	F	La Exp.	4th year	Sews other people's clothes	Married - husband does nothing
39 La Experiencia	1941	F	Tijuana	5th year	Dressmaker	Husband works furniture factory
40 La Experiencia	1940	F	Atemajac	?	Widow/has stall in the market	Husband was millworker
41 La Experiencia	1942	M	GDL	Elementary	Works in a garage	
42 Zapopan	1941	F	El Quemado Ranch	?		Married ?
43 Zapopan	1943	F	Zapopan	?	Widow	Husband was lorry driver
44 Zapopan	1944	F	Zapopan	?	Married/Husband sells food	
45 Zapopan	1948	F	El Quemado Ranch	?		Married
46 Zapopan	1952	F	Zapopan	?	?	
47 Zapopan	1954	F	Rio Blanco	?	?	
48 Zapopan	1956	M	Zapopan	?	Peasant/Helps father in the ejido	
49 Zapopan	1949	M	Zapopan	Literate	Works in the ejido, Rio Blanco	
50 Zapopan	1952	M	USA	Literate	?	
51 Zapopan	1954	M	Zapopan	Literate	Works in the ejido, Rio Blanco	
52 Zapopan	1956	M	Zapopan	Literate	Works in the ejido, Rio Blanco	

APPENDIX VII CHRONOLOGY OF THE MAIN EVENTS IN THE MEXICAN HISTORY

From the Independence War up to the Present

1810 Start of the Independence War: Movement led by rich creoles and Spaniards and middle-class creoles.

1814 The first Constitution, inspired by the French constitution of 1793 and the Spanish constitution of 1812. Constitución de Apatzingán.

1815 Execution of Morelos.

1819 Those supporting Independence (Independentistas) were on
1820 the point of accepting defeat. But in 1820 a liberal revolution forced Fernando VII to re-establish the Constitution of Cádiz. Viceroy Apodaca rejected the plan of La Profesa, which declared that, as long as the King was under pressure from revolutionaries, his Viceroy in México would govern with the Laws of Indies (Leyes de Indias) and with complete independence from Spain. In the fighting and uncertainty rich creoles saw the opportunity to achieve independence without the need to introduce social reforms. Thus they asked Iturbide to head the new government. Iturbide was supported by the high clergy, Spaniards and the creole owners of mines and haciendas. They put forward the Plan de Iguala (or las tres garantías) proposing a country where all should be catholic, all Mexicans should be equal, and where a European King would reign in an Independent México. The military campaign was brief and almost bloodless.

1821 On September 27th, Iturbide entered México City. On September 28th he was appointed head of the first independent government.

1822 The Congress was divided into Monarchists (Bourbons - Iturbide) and Republicans.

1822 May. Iturbide was crowned Emperor Agustín I by the Constitutional Congress. He ruled 11 months. He had enemies in the Congress and dissolved it. He appointed a Junta charged with preparing a provisional political code and with calling for elections of a new Congress.

1822 December. Santa Anna rose up against Iturbide in Veracruz and pressed for a Republic.

1823 March. Iturbide leaves the country recalling the Congress he had dismissed.

April. The deputies abolished the Supreme Executive Power.

July. The Central American Provinces declared their Independence.

November. A second Congress proclaimed the Republic and drew up a Constitution. (The Constitution of 1824). They also issued the order to execute Iturbide and named, as President and Vice-President, two caudillos of the Independence: Guadalupe Victoria and Nicolás Bravo.

1824 Year marked by severe economic problems. The Spaniards leave the country taking with them their capital. The Government was divided into two parties: Partido Centralista (made up of the rich) and the Partido Federalista (made up of the middle-class). The Partido Centralista was headed by masons of the Scottish rite and the Partido Federalista by masons of the York rite. They fought for
1829 four years until the defeat of the Scottish masons who were forced into exile. Vicente Guerrero, head of the York order, took the Presidency by force.
Santa Anna defeated 7,000 Spaniards who were attempting to invade México.

1830 Bustamante took the Presidency from Guerrero by force and formed a strong Government with the young aristocrat Lucas Alamán. The civil war restarted. Guerrero was killed and Santa Anna rebelled in Veracruz. Gómez Pedroza replaced Bustamante and called for elections.

1834 Santa Anna becomes President, but the real leader of the Government was Valentín Gómez Farias (he belonged to the radical wing of the Criollos). He launched a reform of church, school and army. Santa Anna turns against him and dismisses him. Santa Anna has to face the war against Texas.

1836 Santa Anna was defeated. Velasco treaties: he agreed to suspend the war. At the end of 1836 the Congress replaced the Constitution of 1824 with the Seven Laws. There were problems with Indians.

1838 War with France due to lack of indemnity payments and lack of respect for French traders.

1843 The Organic Laws. They last three years.

1846-47 Invasion by the USA.

1848 8th February. Treaty of Guadalupe. 890,000 square miles to the USA.
José Joaquín Herrera, President. Revolts of Indians in the North, Yucatán, and Guerrero. Guerra de Castas in Yucatán, it lasted three years.

1850 Mariano Arista, President.

From 1821 to 1850 there was no peace or development in Mexico. In 30 years there were 50 different Governments, 11 of them presided over by Santa Anna. In the economic sphere mines developed, thanks to British investments and to the use of steam-driven machinery and new smelting techniques. Industry meant only a few cotton mills. The Banco de Avío created by Alamán with the means to finance industry was not successful. Communication routes deteriorated during this period. Mexico received migration from France, Germany and England. In 1850, the intellectuals, getting desperate at the country's situation, decided to save it. But they were few and they were divided. The conservadores were led by Lucas Alamán, the liberales had no head but important members were Benito Juárez, Melchor Ocampo, Miguel Lerdo de Tejada and Ignacio Comonfort. The liberales were divided into puros and moderados.

1852 A revolution started in Guadalajara against the Governor Jesus López Portillo, headed by the hat-maker José María Blancarte, supported by the Santannistas. President Arista falls.

1853 Juan Bautista Ceballos took over the Presidency. He was overthrown and Juan Múgica y Osorio was appointed President. He did not accept and Manuel María Lombardini was appointed

provisional President. The latter handed it over to Santa Anna. Then the dictatorship of Santa Anna commenced and he appointed Lucas Alamán as head of the Ministry. They banished the important members of the Liberal Party. Lucas Alamán died in 1853.
Count Raousset de Boulbon invaded Sonora with Frenchmen.

1854 The Santa Anna dictatorship succeeded in provoking the dislike and ill will of all the classes of society. The Liberals became active again and started some armed rebellion.

1855 The revolt continued. In August Santa Anna went to La Antigua. This was the end of the Era Santannista. Alvarez and Comonfort were the leaders of the revolution. Juan Alvares assumed the Presidency with Melchor Ocampo, Benito Juárez, Guillermo Prieto and Ignacio Comonfort in his cabinet.
Juárez issued the first Ley de Reforma (Reform Laws). Called Ley Juárez and related to civil and military tribunals. Comonfort replaced Alvarez in the Presidency. On 25th June he issued several Leyes de Reforma. The first was the Ley de Desamortización de Fincas Rústicas y Urbanas Propiedad de Corporaciones Civiles y Religiosas. This law was supposed to serve two purposes:

a) it was supposed to correct one of the economic mistakes that had allowed real estate to remain idle and had impeded the development of the arts and industries which depended upon it.

b) it was a necessary step to the abolition of the main obstacle to the establishment of a uniform tax system, in accord with the principles of the science, to the mobilization of real estate, a natural basis for an efficient tax system.

"After the reform laws: 1855-57, the break-up of village lands accelerated, with the Indians defenceless in the case of a juridical system which failed to bring them justice. It has been estimated that in the 50 years up to 1900, over 2 million acres of land were allotted, and that all of it ended up in the hands of either land companies or estate owners."

(Hansen, quoted in Friedman et al., 1980, pp.326)

1855 Summons to an extraordinary Congress. This Congress was made up of a majority of Deputies of the Moderate Party, a selected minority of Liberals and a few Conservatives. A new Constitution was discussed. The Constitution of 1824 was abolished. It did not permit an attack on the privileges of clergy and army.

1857 The Constitution of 1857.
December. Revolution of the "pious"in Puebla. The rebels were beaten in Puebla but there were other revolts in the South, Sierra Gorda, Llanos de Apan and Puebla.
17th December. Plan de Tacubaya. Comonfort was appointed President with all kind of facilities to pacify the nation. An extraordinary Congress was called to issue a new Constitution. Benito Juárez was jailed. Comonfort freed him. Juárez went to Guanajuato and Comonfort to the USA.

1858 The War of Reform started.
18th January. Juárez declared his Government established in Guanajuato. Two Governments were established: Liberals in the interior of the country and Conservatives in the Capital. The Conservatives were headed by Zuloaga, the Liberals by Juárez.
In February Juárez established his Government in Guadalajara.
In March he left Guadalajara and went to Colima.
In May, they were settled in Veracruz.
During the first year of the war, the Conservatives were beating the Liberals.
In December, a new party was created with Miramón as President.
The USA had recognised Zuloaga as the head of the Mexican Government, but some problems arose and the USA recognised Juárez with the hope to being given Baja California and Tehuantepec. Ocampo is opposed to any territorial concession.
The Conservatives made a treaty with Spain in 1859.
The war continued. The Reform Laws were published in Veracruz: separation of the Church and the State, disappearance of monastic orders, nationalization of ecclesiastical property.
The two Governments face economic problems. The Conservative Government asked for loans from Switzerland.

1860 The Liberals were beaten by the Conservatives.

1861 January. The Liberals entered triumphantly into the capital, Mexico City.
January 11th. Juárez arrived with his ministers. His politics were radically liberal and reformist. Juárez had to negotiate with the international powers because the Liberals were not to recognise the loans and agreements made by the other faction of the Government during the war. Zuloaga replaced Miramón and the fight between Conservatives and Liberals continued.
There were big problems among the Liberals who wanted to finish once and for all with the Conservatives. The assassination of Ocampo worsened the situation.
June. Juárez was appointed Constitutional President by the Assembly. The Government needed money to finish off the opposition, and thus on July 17th they issued a decree which suppressed payment of the external debt for two years.
July 25th. France and England broke relations with México.
The fight continued. But at the end of the year the Conservatives were virtually beaten. But the international situation was favouring the Conservatives.

1862 December 1861-January 1862. Three European powers land at Veracruz: Spain, France and England. "La Intervención Extranjera".

January and February. The Liberals kept fighting the Conservatives. The Mexican Monarchists tried, once more, to establish a monarchy in the country.
March. The alliance between the three foreign countries was broken and Spain and England withdraw.
War with France (1862-67).
May. Juárez was beaten and went to San Luis Potosí. The fight continued and Juárez was obliged to withdraw to Saltillo. French and Conservatives invade San Luis Potosí, Guadalajara, Zacatecas, Aguascalients.
The Liberals were in Oaxaca (Porfirio Díaz) and Puebla.
Díaz cut the communication with Veracruz.
Juárez refused to resign from the Presidency. In April he was in Monterrey.

1864 May. The fight continued on the eve of the arrival of Maximiliano and Carlota.
The Second Empire with Maximiliano as the Emperor.

1867 End of the Second Empire. Execution of Maximiliano.

Beginnings of the Modern History of México.

1867-1876 La República Restaurada (The restored Republic).

1877-1911 El Porfiriato Dictatorship of Porfirio Díaz.

1867 Triumph of the Liberals and the Republic. But the Liberals were divided into several factions.
First Presidential election: Juárez versus Díaz (hero of the war against the Empire).

1872 Second Presidential election. (Juárez died in 1872).

1873 Railway linking centre to Veracruz was finished. Revived imports and exports, but did little or nothing to develop the domestic economy. México needed a network of roads and railways but she had no money because of broken relations with France, England and Spain. And since 1824 it had been in arrears on payments of its foreign debt.

1873-1876 The different factions of the Liberals kept fighting.

1874 Abolition of the alcabalas. The alcabalas were taxes amounting to 20-30% of the market value of the commodity sold. The alcabala gave independence to the Mexican states, but it also placed a heavy burden on domestic production for the market. They were suppressed by Díaz who unified the market but destroyed the independent power of the states to act (Friedman et al, p.328).

1876 Lerdo finished his term of office as President. Díaz thought Lerdo was seeking re-election and took to arms.

1877 Díaz seized power, but he was not at first recognised by the USA. Finally he was recognised and the Porfiriato commenced.

1880 Díaz obtained an authorization from the Congress for new railways.

1880 General Manuel González was President. He went ahead with the construction of the Central Railway linking the Capital with Ciudad Juárez, and of the National Railway from the Capital to Nuevo Laredo.
In his subsequent Governments, Díaz himself continued this programme so that at the end of the Porfiriato, México had progressed from a single railway of 287 miles in 1877 to a complete railway grid of almost 12,000 miles. At the same time, postal, telegraph and even telephone communications spread out to cover a large part of the national territory. Work on port facilities was carried out in Veracruz, Tampico and Salina Cruz. Later in the Porfiriato, a number of banks were created that made possible the expansion of agriculture, mining, commerce and industry.
Porfirio Díaz was felt to be necessary to keep peace and to promote the development of the country. However he became increasingly oppressive, until he finally provoked the Madero rebellion.

1910 For the election of July 1910 several political parties were formed and none won a seat in the Congress. Díaz was re-elected for the sixth consecutive time. Madero rebelled against this situation on the 20th November 1910. Within six months, a system of Government that had remained in power for thirty-four years collapsed. After six months of struggle Díaz resigned and fled the country.

1910-1920 The Mexican Revolution.

1911 Madero assumed power with a gravely splintered party, as was clearly demonstrated by the uprising of Zapata under the Plan de Ayala. Madero wanted things done by the path of law. He was to be the victim of his democratic zeal.

1913 He was assassinated by rich Mexicans and the Porfirista army. Huerta took power. He was bound to the international policy of the USA. The Revolutionaries regrouped around Venustiano Carranza.

1914 Huerta fled to France, Zapata and Villa entered the Capital.

1915 Carranza and Obregón entered México City.

1917 Convención de Queretaro issued the Constitution of 1917. Carranza was elected President. Carranza devoted himself to consolidating a strong Government which would eventually make possible the needed social and economic changes. The country revealed itself as a mosaic of different people with different needs. Carranza had to try to solve the most pressing social problems. The caudillos were one against the other.

1918 Creation of the CROM (Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana).

1920 Assassination of Carranza. Obregón became President. Zapata was also assassinated.
Obregón represented mainly the middle class. The workers were few in number and divided in their doctrines as has been demonstrated in the episode of the Red Battallions (Batallones rojos).
The victory of the ruling group, still supported chiefly by arms, needed to be transformed into a true social and political triumph producing a genuinely national State by being more representative and powerful than any of the conflicting interests.
Government had to respond to the needs and aspirations of peasants and workers to achieve their support. In this way, the sources of power were other than military.

1921 The national reconstruction really began in 1921. Agrarian Reform was put into operation, although slowly and intermittently. Land redistribution became the basis of a more complex and productive economy, which would be the only guarantee of success in the industrialization of Mexico.
The expectations of the peasants could be channelled politically to establish a class alliance between the nascent State and the rural population. Need to organise the peasants into large associations giving greater unity and effectiveness to their social force.
They were also conscious that similar procedures needed to be followed with the workers: but in their case taking into account a particular historical circumstance. From

the beginning and in spite of its often anarchist form, the labour movement had been so weak that it had turned to the Mexican State for protection of its interests against frequently foreign employers. Labour leaders had been incorporated into the State in very high posts, so their solidarity was fully guaranteed.
Vasconcelos organised the Public Education Ministry.

1924-1928 Presidency of General Calles, called Maximato.

1926-1929 El Movimiento Cristero, or La Cristiada. Uprising of 50,000 peasants and small landowners against the politics of Calles. Small landowners who took the anti-religious politics of Calles as a banner against the ejidatarios.
Obregón was assassinated. Political crises. The workers lost their autonomy.

1929 Foundation of P.N.R. (Partido Nacional Revolucionario). Presidential elections: Ortiz Rubio beat Vasconcelos, who claimed it a fraud and went into exile.

1932 Calles intervened and Abelardo Rodríguez replaced Ortiz Rubio in the Presidency.

1934-1940 Presidency of General Lázaro Cárdenas.

1934 The Nacional Financiera, S.A. (NAFINSA) was established to promote and co-ordinate economic growth by supplying loans to industry and by financing needed public works. In 1940, the resources were directed towards infra-structural investment, particularly in electric power and rail transport (Friedman et al, p.331).

1936 Creation of the CTM (Confederacion de Trabajadores de México).

1940 Bloody Presidential elections. The elected President was the General Avila Camacho whose victory over General Juan A. Almazán was very dubious.

1946 The P.N.R. became the P.R.I. (Partido Revolucionario Institucional).

1946-1952 Miguel Alemán was President. He weakened the bases of popular support of the Mexican State.

1952-1958 Ruiz Cortinez President.

1958-1964 López Mateos President.

1964-1970 Díaz Ordaz President. In October 1968, there was a massacre of students in the Plaza Tlatelolco.

1970-1976 Echeverría, President.

1976-1982 López Portillo President.

1982- Miguel de la Madrid President.

Some Data on Population

State of Origin of Migratory Agricultural Workers Entering US 1942-1968

1. Guanajuato	418,202
2. Chihuahua	389,643
3. Michoacán	370,860
4. Jalisco	343,274
National total:	4,639,857

Population of Guadalajara
(Censos General de Población)

Year	
1900	101,208
1910	119,468
1921	143,376
1930	179,526
1940	229,235
1950	377,016
1960	736,800
1970	1,193,601

Population Increase

In the period 1950-1960, Jalisco occupied the tenth position in population increase with a 39.9% increase.

In the period 1960-1970, Jalisco occupied the eighteenth position with an increase of 35.0%.

Rural Population

In 1930, Jalisco occupied the sixth place with a rural population of 760,894.

In 1960, Jalisco occupied the sixth place with a rural population of 1,013,669.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHJ	Archivo Histórico de Jalisco
CGT	Confederación General del Trabajo
CIATEX	Compañia Textil Manufacturera, S.A.
CIDASA	Compañia Industrial de Atenquique, S.A.
CIDOSA	Compañia Industrial de Orizaba, S.A.
CIJARA	Compañia Industrial de Guadalajara, S.A.
CROC	Confederación Revolucionaria de Obreros y Campesinos
CROM	Confederación Regional Obrera Mexicana
CTM	Confederación de Trabajadores de México
IMSS	Instituto Mexicano del Seguro Social
INFONAVIT	Instituto Nacional de Fomento a la Vivienda del Trabajador
NAFINSA	Nacional Financiera, S.A.
NATEX	Nacional Textil Manufacturera, S.A.
NUNATEX	Nueva Nacional Textil Manufacturera, S.A.
PRI	Partido Revolucionario Institucional
SAG	Secretaría de Agricultura y Ganadería

GLOSSARY

Agrarista: Landless peasants fighting to achieve land reform. Fighting against the Cristeros.

Atenquique: Means "river that meanders". This is the name of the paper mill, which derives from the name of the valley where the factory is located and of the river that crosses it.

Batientes: Cotton bale breakers. The first step in the spinning process.

Birria: Typical food made from the flesh of goats.

Bracero: Migrant day labourer in the USA. The word comes from Brazo - arm, i.e. a person who sells his arms, the strength of his arms.

Bracerismo: The phenomenon of migration to the USA.

Cacique: Big-man: a leader who bases his power on physical force and the ownership of land.

Caja de ahorros: Savings scheme proposed by the management of the factories. Every pay-day a certain amount of money is retained. The worker has the right to claim it back at any moment or to ask for a loan. Usually the amount of the loan is double that of the savings deposited in the caja de ahorros. The Executive Committee of the Union deals with the loan application and the money deposited there.

Compadre (comadre): Co-parents; the father and godfather of a child are compadres.

Compadrazgo: The relation established between compadres.

Contrato Colectivo de Trabajo: The contract established between the workers and the management of a factory. It is renegotiated every two years.

Cortijo (El): The Farmhouse, the name of a hacienda.

Criollo: A term used to refer to Spaniards born in Mexico (in opposition to Gachupín or peninsular which was used to refer to Spaniards born in Spain).

Criollo Nuevo: In the text this term refers to Frenchmen born in Mexico.

Cristero: Landowner fighting against the agraristas during the movement called La Cristiada. This movement took place mainly in the Highlands of Jalisco (1929-1940).

Ejido: Land granted to a comunidad ejidal. A comunidad ejidal is composed of several ejidatarios to whom land is granted on a collective basis. Nevertheless they exploit it in an individual way. Each ejidatario has his own parcela ejidal, but he cannot sell it or rent it out. The comunidad ejidal is administered by a Comisariado Ejidal, a treasurer etc. They are in charge of the smooth running of the ejido and to seeing that the rules are obeyed.

Escoba (La): The term means 'the broom'. This was the name given to the hacienda and later to the textile mill located in the grounds of the hacienda. The name derived from the local habitat which was covered by a certain kind of bush which produces strong roots used to make brooms.

Experiencia (La): The term means 'the experience'. This is the name of one of the textile mills.

Hacienda: Latifundium comprising within its grounds the house of the owners (la casa grande), and the houses of the peasants who worked permanently on the lands of the hacienda. Haciendas producing sugar cane frequently had a sugar mill. Haciendas were also engaged in livestock production.

Hacendado(a): The owner(s) of a hacienda.

Jauja: The term means 'earthly paradise', 'promised land'. It was the name of a textile mill located in Nayarit.

Maquila: Putting-out system. Industrial work carried out at home, mainly by women. The capitalist provides the materials and the women the labour. They are paid by piecework.

Medida:. This is a special measure for cereals, mainly maize. It varies according to different regions, but it is about 4 kilos of maize grains.

Mediero: A sharecropper.

Menudo: A typical spicy dish made from beef viscera. It is recommended to cure severe hangovers.

Municipio: The smallest political division of the country.

Pabilo: Thick yarn, loose and almost untwisted. It is an intermediary step in the spinning process:
Sliver - roving - yarn = mecha - pabilo - hilo.

Petate: A mat made of woven reeds.

Prosperidad Jaliscience (La): 'The Prosperity of Jalisco', the former name given to the Atemajac mill.

Rancho: A medium-sized agricultural and/or livestock farm.

Ranchería: A group of ranchos.

Rincón (El): 'The Corner', the name of a hacienda located near the cement factory. It became an ejido during the land reform.

Rio Grande: 'Big River', the name given to a textile mill. The mill was better known by the name El Salto (the waterfall).

Santa Cruz: 'Saint Cross', the name of a hacienda and sugar mill.

Soplador: A fan made of woven reeds, used to stoke up the fire.

Toltoca: An ancient culture of Mexico. Its centre was located in Tula, Hidalgo. The first cement factory of the Toltoca Group was built in the area.

Tortilla: A flat pancake made with maize flour, a daily meal of all Mexicans.

Tortillería: A shop where tortillas are made and sold.

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